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ELECTION OF SENATORS BY POPULAR VOTE.

THE framers of the Constitution, foreseeing the probable necessity for amendments of that instrument in the future, did not leave the question, either as to the *right* or to the *mode* of amending it, an open one; they wisely provided that, with but a single exception, the power to amend should be unlimited, and they also prescribed the manner of amendment. The one great principle in the national structure deemed vital to the existence and perpetuity of the Government by the men composing the Constitutional Convention, and the one, therefore, which with remarkable prescience they determined should never be eliminated by amendment, without the consent of the State interested, involved the equality of State representation in the United States Senate. Article V of the Constitution, in providing for amendments, declares that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." In all other respects, however, it was deemed wise by the framers of that instrument to leave it subject to amendment.

When the Convention, which was called together to revise the then federal system of government and which finally framed the Constitution of the United States, met at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, one of the first questions that engaged the attention of that distinguished body—after having determined that the legislative power of the new Government should be vested in a Congress to consist of two separate Houses, and after having further determined the *ratio* of representation in each House—was the *mode* or *manner* in which the members of those two

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Houses respectively should be chosen. From the first there seemed to be a strong feeling, approaching almost to a consensus of opinion, among the members that those of the House—or House of Delegates, as it was designated in the original plan—should be chosen by the people, although on the final vote, two States (New Jersey and South Carolina) voted No. Connecticut and Delaware were divided: Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia voted in the affirmative. Roger Sherman of Connecticut, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and Pierce Butler of South Carolina contended vigorously against the election of members of the House by the people, insisting ably and with marked persistency that they should be chosen by the legislatures of the several States, substantially in the same manner as United States Senators are now chosen. Roger Sherman in the course of the debate contended that "the people immediately should have as little to do as may be about the government." The announcement of such a doctrine might have been permissible in those early days; it would scarcely meet with the approval of a very great number of the people of this country at the present time. Opposed to this view, however, James Madison of Virginia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and others were heard in vigorous dissent. Mr. Madison declared that "the great fabric to be raised would be more stable and durable if it should rest on the solid foundation of the people themselves, than if it should stand merely on the pillars of the legislature"; while James Wilson of Pennsylvania, in his advocacy of elections by the people, said: "I am in favor of raising the federal pyramid to a considerable altitude and for that reason I wish to give it as broad a base as possible. No government can long subsist without the confidence of the people."

The *mode*, however, in which the several States should choose their Senators was a subject that led to a diversity of opinion. These divergent opinions took a wide scope, ranging all the way from the aristocratic or monarchical scheme that the Senate should be chosen by the Executive out of a certain number of persons to be nominated by the individual legislatures, as strongly advocated by Gouverneur Morris of New York, Mr. Read of Delaware, and others, to the more democratic idea, as strenuously and persistently advocated by Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania and others, to the effect that the Senate, like the House, should be chosen by the people.

Four distinct plans of choosing Senators, each of which plans had earnest and able advocates, were proposed in the Constitutional

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Convention. The first was that they be chosen by the President of the United States; (2) by the House of Delegates, or, as it is now called, the House of Representatives; (3) by the legislatures of the several States; and (4) by direct vote of the people.

In the plan proposed by Mr. Edmund Randolph of Virginia and embodied in the series of resolutions, fifteen in number, submitted by him early in the proceedings of the Convention, he suggested that, while the members of the *first* branch, as the proposed House of Delegates or House of Representatives was then designated, should be chosen by the people of the several States, the members of the *second* branch, as the proposed Senate was then called, should be chosen, not by the people, not by the legislatures of the States, not by the Executive, but by the members of the *first*,—that is, the House of Delegates or House of Representatives,—out of, to use his own language, "a proper number of persons to be nominated by the individual legislatures of the several States."

In the original plan of the Constitution submitted by Mr. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, in which it was provided that the legislative power of the new Government should be vested in a Congress to consist of two Houses, one to be called "The House of Delegates," the other "The Senate," the mode of choosing members of the two Houses respectively suggested by Mr. Randolph in his series of resolutions was, with a single exception, adopted. In this plan the members of the House of Delegates were to be chosen every year by the people, and the Senators were to be elected or chosen by the House of Delegates, without any nomination or suggestion from either the legislatures or the people of the States respectively. The omission, in this plan, to permit either the legislatures or the people of the States to have any voice whatever in the matter, marked the only difference between the plan proposed by Mr. Randolph and that submitted by Mr. Pinckney.

Alexander Hamilton, in the paper said to have been communicated by him to James Madison about the close of the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, and in which, it is claimed by contemporaneous authority, he declared was delineated the constitution which he would have wished proposed by the Convention—and in which also were enunciated the principles which he is said to have declared during the deliberations of the Convention,—suggested the electoral system as a mode of choosing United States Senators, a system somewhat similar to that which was finally adopted for the election of President and

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Vice-President. In section 1 of article III of his ideal constitution it was provided as follows:—

"The Senate shall consist of persons to be chosen, except in the first instance, by electors elected for that purpose by the citizens and inhabitants of the several States comprehended in the Union, who shall have in their own right or the right of their wives an estate in land for not less than life or a term of years, whereof at the time of giving their votes there shall be at least fourteen years unexpired."

Mr. Hamilton would also have provided in addition that Senators should hold their office during good behavior, removable only by conviction on impeachment for some high crime or misdemeanor. His plan also involved their right to vote by proxy in the Senate, but no Senator who was present should be proxy for more than two who were absent.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the plan of choosing Senators by the legislatures of the several States, as finally agreed upon by the men who framed the Constitution, was a compromise between widely divergent and conflicting views on that important subject among the members of the memorable Convention—one view being, as it was very properly characterized by Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts, "a stride toward monarchy,"—that is, the choosing of United States Senators by the President of the United States; the other, that of pure democracy, or the right of the people to control, and hence the choosing of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. An impassable gulf separated the framers of our Fundamental Law in their opinions on this important question, and on the cognate question as to what *ratio* of representation the States respectively should have in the Senate of the United States. To such an extent did the contention proceed that for a time the dissolution of the Convention was threatened and the defeat of the great purposes in view became imminent. But through the wise counsels of Franklin, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, and others, mutual concessions were made and, in a spirit of compromise, the friends and advocates of the right of the people to be heard in the selection of the men who were to frame the laws of the country reluctantly surrendered something of their opinions, while those who held to the monarchical idea, that the President should choose Senators, and those who held to the equally absurd theory that Senators should be chosen by the House of Representatives, also surrendered something of their notions, and, as a result, the Convention finally met on common ground and decided that the Senate should be chosen by the legislatures of the several States.

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Nearly one hundred and nine years have elapsed since that Constitution received the signatures of all the members, save three, of that distinguished Convention—the three exceptions being Mr. Randolph and Mr. Mason of Virginia, and Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts. It is a document which, as a whole, is worthy of the illustrious men who framed it. As a fundamental charter of government, it is unexcelled in the list of governmental charters of either ancient or modern times. It has stood the tempests of a century, unscathed by civil contention, unharmed by the fires of internecine war, and in wisdom and in architectural strength and beauty stands preeminent, second to none, among all the uninspired productions of the world. But does it follow that neither the added wisdom of one hundred years, the altered condition of things, nor the change in men's opinions wrought by the contact of an ever-advancing civilization with the questions of the political and personal rights of the masses, nor yet the altered conditions in the mental, moral, and social status of the nation and of the people of the several States as compared with those of a century ago, should not suggest advisable and important changes in the Fundamental Charter? Already fifteen changes have been made in the Constitution of the United States, and who to-day will insist that any one of them was not well-advised? In every one of these, progressively and step by step, with a stately and impressive grandeur, the doors of individual liberty have been widened, the sphere of human rights enlarged, and the spirit of monarchy rebuked.

It will be borne in mind that the first ten of these Fifteen Amendments were proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the First Congress on September 25, 1789, only two years and eight days after the completion of the Constitution by the Convention, and that all of them were ratified by the requisite number of States on or before December 1, 1791—the first to give its assent to these several Amendments being New Jersey, which ratified them November 20, 1789, the last being Virginia, which gave its assent a little over two years later, December 15, 1791. Then followed later on the Eleventh and Twelfth Amendments, and still later, after the war, for the purpose of garnering the fruits of that great contest, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. And thus we find that gradually, through a series of Fifteen Amendments, it has been demonstrated that the Constitution as originally framed was deficient, in numerous respects, in those guaranties of individual rights, including limitations upon the power of Congress in reference to freedom of speech and

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of the press, and of enacting laws respecting an establishment of religion,—which are now vouchsafed to the people by virtue of these several Amendments.

What, then, are some of the reasons why a change in the method of choosing Senators should be deemed advisable?

It is submitted that they are in a great measure equal in importance, and not by any means distantly related, to those which led to the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. The proposition, it is believed, is elemental as well as fundamental when considered in connection with the underlying principle upon which individual suffrage is based. The right to vote, which cannot be denied or abridged either by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, carries with it the privilege or implied right—except as that right is destroyed by another provision of the Constitution—to exercise such privilege, not through the medium of a vicarious agent, but freely and directly.

Members of the National House of Representatives and United States Senators, and also the President of the United States, are, under our system, recognized as elective officers, as contradistinguished from those—federal judges, for instance—who do not come within that category, but are appointed. But in all elective officers each individual voter has a special interest, which, it is presumed, he has under our general system of suffrage a right to represent at the ballot-box. That right, it is submitted, should not be charged with restrictions which prevent its full, fair, and effective exercise. What the citizen is permitted to do *indirectly* or through the means of a *proxy* in the matter of suffrage, he should be permitted to do *directly*, in his own right and in his own proper person. If the individual voter has any interest to be represented by a Senator of the United States, apart from that general interest he has in the maintenance of the dignity of the state in its sovereign or political capacity, and in the preservation and vindication of its sovereign or political rights—and it is believed he has, or at least should have,—and if he has a right to represent that interest in any manner whatever at the ballot-box, then he should be permitted to do it directly and not indirectly,—in person, and not by proxy.

It is not always true that agents carry out the wishes of the principal. It is not always true that A, who is a candidate for the legislature and is voted for by B under the belief on the part of B, or perhaps under a pledge, either express or implied, from A that he will vote for B's choice, fulfils the wishes of B in the vote he ultimately gives for

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Senator. His position, for instance, may from the first have been honestly misunderstood, or he may violate his pledge, given directly or indirectly. The latter, however, it is true, is scarcely among the probabilities, perhaps is of rare occurrence, and certainly is not possible with an honorable man. To fail to carry out the express or implied wishes of the voter in this regard would be equivalent to the act of a Presidential elector in refusing to obey his implied pledge, an act which no Presidential elector in this country could be guilty of with any hope of escaping the unqualified denunciation and condemnation of all honorable men. But, take it altogether, the choice which the people have as a rule in the election of United States Senators under our present system is involved in so many uncertainties, and surrounded by so many restrictions, that virtually they have no choice at all in relation to it. The present system is unrepublican, undemocratic, and vicious in all respects. It carries with it the insinuation that the people, the qualified voters of the State, are, for some reason, unfit for the full exercise of the elective franchise in the choice of their law-makers. It is practically saying that it is unsafe and prejudicial to the public interests to trust the selection of the people's law-makers to the people themselves. And no system can be properly termed free or republican which deprives the individual voter of his right to cast his vote directly for the man of his choice for any office recognized by our system as an elective office, whether it be a State office, member of the National House of Representatives, United States Senator, or President.

Thomas H. Benton once made the following statement in the United States Senate:

> "The only effectual mode of preserving our Government from the corruptions which have undermined the liberty of so many nations is to confide the election of our Chief Magistrate to those who are the farthest removed from the influence of his patronage, that is, to the whole body of the American citizens."

The same, it is submitted, is true as to the selection of United States Senators. In the former case, the bribery of patronage may reach the electors in every State, while it cannot reach the masses of the voters. So, in the latter case, the corruptions of a wealthy and unscrupulous aspirant for senatorial honors may and sometimes do reach and control a majority in the legislature, while such a thing would be absolutely impossible were the decision left to the great mass of the voters.

Furthermore, it is believed the election of Senators by popular vote will have a tendency to destroy what is known as "bossism."

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It will remove to a great extent the temptation, and destroy the opportunity, to use corrupt means in primary elections. It will tend to the destruction of corrupt rings and combines upon the part of unscrupulous and scheming politicians, and leave them less powerful, and with less opportunity, to defeat the will of the masses of the electors. It will discourage and in a great measure destroy the vicious system of gerrymandering States in the interest of a particular party. It will, in a word, lead in the direction of the purification of American politics. It will tend, moreover, to remove a feeling of distrust from the popular mind and create instead a sentiment of confidence and respect. Its tendency will be to disarm unjust criticism and establish more cordial relations than now exist between the people of the several States and the press of the country upon the one part, and Senators and the Senate of the United States upon the other.

To deny to the people the right to choose their Senators by a direct vote may be regarded in a certain sense as a reflection upon either the honesty or capacity, or both, of the voting class of the several States, while it is likely to wound the sensibilities of the voter in depriving him of his sovereign right to vote directly for his choice; and thus in a measure the people are separated from the choice of the legislature, and the harmony and unity of feeling which ought to exist between the masses of the people and their representatives, whether of the House or Senate, are impaired. The present system of choosing Senators carries with it the same vice which has in a great measure brought into disrepute the electoral system for the election of President and Vice-President. The injustice and unfairness of that system are exemplified in every Presidential election. They were made conspicuous in 1845, when the insignificant vote of about fifteen thousand, cast for Mr. Birney in the State of New York, resulted in giving the whole electoral vote of that State to Mr. Polk, and thus electing him President of the United States over Mr. Clay. In that election Mr. Polk received considerably less than 50 per cent of the popular vote, yet he received 62 per cent of the electoral vote.

Another unanswerable objection to the present system is to be found in the great length of time frequently absorbed by the legislature of a State in the choosing of a Senator, and the consequent distraction of the legislative mind from business which all agree properly belongs to such a body; to say nothing of the strife, ill feeling, and contention that too often follow necessarily in the wake of such contests. The history of senatorial elections in a number of States in

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recent years, resulting in prolonged contests extending through the entire session and in ultimate failures to elect, and in other similar contests occupying the greater portion of the time of the entire sessions of the legislatures, affords a conclusive argument in favor of the proposed change in the manner of choosing Senators. It is but a few years since the contest in the legislature of the State of New York extended through the greater portion of the session. In 1882 the contest in the Oregon legislature extended through the entire session, resulting in an election only at its close. A similar struggle occurred in the Oregon legislature in 1895, to the great detriment of the public business. In 1892–93, the legislatures of the States of Washington, Montana, and Wyoming were severally occupied from the beginning to the end of their sessions in the vain endeavor to choose a United States Senator. There was a failure to choose in each case, resulting in the appointment of a Senator from each of those States by the Governors respectively, which appointees, after a protracted contest in the Senate, were denied admittance, on the ground that when the legislature of a State, whose business it is to choose a Senator for a full term, fails to do so, such failure does not create a vacancy, within the meaning of the Constitution, which the Executive of a State can fill by temporary appointment.

Again, in the last Idaho legislature, also in that of Washington, the greater portion of each session was wasted in protracted struggles in choosing a Senator. The last legislature of the State of Delaware was engaged in a turbulent contest from early in January, 1895, until May 9 of that year, the right of the person then claiming to have been chosen being disputed, and resulting in a contest now pending in the United States Senate. All are familiar, too, with the recent disgraceful struggle in Kentucky which was prolonged throughout the entire session of the legislature of that State, resulting in a failure to choose.

It will be observed that these distracting contests and failures are not confined to any particular portion of the country, but occur in all sections and in the old as well as in the new States. The frequent failures to choose by legislatures—and if Senators were chosen by popular vote there would be no such failures—have repeatedly and sometimes for many months deprived States in which such failures have occurred of their constitutional representation and suffrage in the Senate. For instance, the State of Washington was thus deprived from March 3, 1893, until February 19, 1895, a period of two years, lacking fifteen days; Montana had a vacancy from March 3, 1893, until Janu-

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ary 16, 1895, more than twenty-two months; Wyoming from March 3, 1893, until January 23, 1895; while Delaware still has a vacancy which has existed since March 3, 1895.

Another vital objection to the choosing of Senators by the legislatures, and in favor of the proposed change, is found in the fact that in the selection of candidates for the legislature whose business it is to choose a Senator, every consideration is lost sight of except as to how the candidates, if elected, will vote on the question of senatorship. This becomes the vital issue in all such campaigns, while the question as to the candidate's qualifications or fitness for the business of general legislation, or as to the views he entertains upon the great subjects of material interest to the State—taxation, assessments, schools, internal improvements, revenue, corporations, appropriations, salaries and fees of officers, trusts, municipal affairs, civil and criminal code, apportionment, and other like important subjects—is wholly ignored, and thus, not unfrequently, the most vital interests of the State are made to suffer from the very fact that the question of the selection of a Senator is a distracting and disturbing element, not only in the legislature itself, but in the primary and other elections involving the selection of members of the legislature.

Another strong reason in favor of the change is the fact that after much discussion an enlightened public sentiment demands it. This is not a mere passing craze, similar to the humors and whims that at times take possession of certain classes. An educated, enlightened public opinion has taken hold upon the subject, and the demand for the change is loud and emphatic. It is pronounced, earnest, imperative, not only among the individual voters, but the public press of the country, representing all political parties, seems to be almost a unit on the subject. The legislatures of no less than ten States, including those of Indiana, Wisconsin, and Ohio, have recently memorialized Congress for the change. The emphasis given to this popular sentiment in various ways is very properly having its effect in Congress. The first proposed amendment touching this subject was submitted to the United States Senate by the writer of this article at the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, December, 1887, no action being taken. It was again introduced by him in the Fifty-first Congress. And the first speech in support of this proposed change ever delivered in either branch of Congress was by the writer of this article in the Senate, April 22, 1890.

In the House of Representatives at the first session of the Fifty-second Congress, no less than seventeen different resolutions were pre-

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sented upon this subject, and at that session, January 16, 1893, one of those resolutions, proposing an amendment to the Constitution, passed the House of Representatives by more than a two-thirds vote; while in the Fifty-third Congress three similar amendments were presented in the Senate and twelve in the House by as many different members, and on July 21, 1894, one of these passed the House, the vote being yeas 141, nays 50. At the present session of the Senate, after full discussion, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections reported favorably a joint resolution proposing this amendment to the Constitution, and it is now pending on the Senate Calendar.

Many further reasons might be urged in favor of this proposed change. There is a belief in the public mind that proper deference is not given by the Senate of the United States to the demands and interests of the people, and that this is largely due to the fact that Senators do not owe their positions to the people, who are permanent, but to the legislatures, which are transient. It is wholly immaterial as to whether this belief is well-founded or otherwise. That it exists to an alarming extent, all must admit; and the most effectual means of removing it is to change the mode of choosing United States Senators and remit the choice to popular vote. Restrictions of any kind which tend to prevent a full, fair, and direct expression at the ballot-box of the will of each individual voter, whether native- or foreign-born, white or black,—are obnoxious to the great fundamental idea upon which free government is based. Not the least offensive of these restrictions imposed by our present system is that which deprives the individual voter of the right to cast his vote directly, and without circumlocution through vicarious instrumentalities, for a United States Senator.

In conclusion, the arguments in favor of the proposed change may be thus summarized:

First. United States Senators, like members of the National House of Representatives, are, under our system, elective officers as contradistinguished from federal judges who do not come within that category, and the proposition to elect by a direct vote of the people is, it is believed, elemental as well as fundamental when considered in the light of the underlying principle upon which individual suffrage is based. The existence of the right of suffrage implies the right, or at least should carry with it the right, to exercise it *directly* and not *vicariously*. The political and moral supremacy of the people can only in this manner be rightfully expressed and maintained.

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Second. It will afford a prompt and efficient remedy for the manifest evils made possible by, and unfortunately resulting too frequently from, the present system of senatorial elections, namely, the great length of time consumed in the election and resulting frequently in a failure to choose, the consequent distraction of the legislative mind from important legislative business, and the political and personal controversies, ill feeling, and strife which are the usual—the almost inevitable—accompaniments.

Third. It will render less possible, and therefore tend to the discouragement of, the use of improper means to influence the control of senatorial elections.

Fourth. It will greatly diminish the temptation to gerrymander senatorial and representative districts by State legislatures in the interest of the political party in control.

Fifth. It will be an enlargement of the political rights of the individual voter relating to suffrage, and, therefore, a concession upon the part of the Government, the effect of which, it is believed, will be salutary in tending to discourage unjust criticism of the Senate and its individual members.

Sixth. It will in a great measure eliminate from primary and other elections, involving the selection of members of the legislature, one great cause for irritation and unseemly contention wherein as a rule the question upon which everything is made to turn is as to how this or that man will vote for Senator, rather than upon the question as to his fitness for the office of legislator.

Seventh. No reform movement will so effectively as this tend to the destruction of "boss rule" and the elimination of political "bosses" from American politics in State, county, and municipal elections.

Eighth. A thoroughly-aroused and enlightened public opinion demands the change.

Hence, unless some good reasons exist to the contrary, this demand should be respected by Congress, to the extent at least of giving the people of the several States through their representatives in the legislatures an opportunity to pass upon the question.

The principal objection urged in opposition to the proposed amendment is one based wholly upon the unwarranted assumption that it would in effect disturb the political relation now existing between the States respectively and the National Government, and change the character of senatorial representation from that of the States in their sovereign or political capacity, as is now the case under the existing

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provisions of the Constitution, and would thus, as it is alleged, tend to the destruction of one of the great principles of checks and balances upon which our Government is organized.

The answer to this, as already indicated, is brief though conclusive. The proposed amendment neither interferes with the existing *ratio* of State representation in the Senate, nor with the character of the representation itself. It has not the slightest tendency to invade that principle of the Constitution which its framers intended never should be destroyed, namely, the principle of equal State suffrage in the United States Senate. It in no respect changes the relation now existing between the States respectively and the National Government; the existing sovereignty of each in its respective sphere is not in the slightest manner disturbed.

If it be true that Senators now are, in virtue of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, the distinctive representatives of the States in their sovereign or political capacity, then this is not changed, nor is the principle involved in such representation invaded in any respect whatever by the proposed amendment. It is the *mode* of choosing Senators that will *alone* be affected, and not the capacity or character in which they shall serve, whether as the agents and representatives of the States as political entities, or of the people. The *ratio* of representation which each State must continue to have in the Senate remains wholly unaffected. Whatever sovereign functions attach to the National and State Governments within their respective spheres under existing conditions will be neither enlarged nor diminished. The people of the States now choose their Senators, but only indirectly through their representatives in the legislatures. This, and this only, is sought to be changed, thus enabling the people to do directly that which they can now do only in a vicarious manner.

All other objections urged may be comprehended under the general head that the people, as a whole, cannot be trusted to choose their own law-makers. Whatever may have been the distrust in this respect in the minds of some of the men who were members of the Constitutional Convention,—a distrust entailed by English conceptions and monarchical notions,—it is safe to say no harm is likely to come to representative republican government in America by intrusting to the qualified electors of the nation the right to choose by popular vote the men who are to make their laws, State and National.

JOHN H. MITCHELL.

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MODERN NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.—II.

JONAS LIE gave us his first book about twenty-five years ago, and since then we have had a book every year. They glided into our life quietly, regularly, like a mail steamer laying by, after a long and hard voyage, at a certain hour, in a certain place, saluted with national flags from the custom-house, by friends, and by those who expected something. Among the latter the ladies were always in a great majority, and it is not merely an incident. Not only is every great psychological fact treated in a discreet manner which pleases the lady of culture, but it is principally she he draws, her cause he speaks. As it has been said that the higher culture of a people can be measured by the number of pianos in the country, so it may be said that the deeper feeling of responsibility in a people can be measured by the place which women hold in the homes. In his calm, clear drawings of our grandparents, our parents, and ourselves, up to this very day, the measure is put to rights for us. But we must use it ourselves. He only narrates.

In the times of our grandparents, Norway was a cozy little domain of bureaucracy, boisterous captains, fat parsons, omnivorous jurists, navy officers with hankerings after the nobility, judges and magistrates with the arrogance of small potentates. Down in the sailor's hut and up in the shipowner's house the house-father stood as the representative of the social order of the patriarchs, master by the grace of God. About 1840 a modest movement toward political liberty was begun, but it did not become dangerous to the "establishment" until about 1860. It pushed onward, however, soon touching also the social relations; and when its literature entered the field, providing the politicians with ideas of a dissolving and expansive character, a storm burst over the country, with calumnies and backbitings, with social ostracism and ecclesiastical excommunications. But was it to be wondered at? All those people were suddenly awakened from the firm belief that the "establishment" was founded, socially and politically, on solid Bible-ground not to be shaken. But while this battle was still raging, Jonas Lie went to the doors in the rear and into the houses, apparently without any particular aim—at least he told no one

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what he wanted there. But when he came out again he brought with him the habits, the customs, the ideas of the "establishment" from its golden days. It was not the worst homes but the best he had searched, and when we saw what he had found, we asked involuntarily, "But is that worth keeping?" Next moment, however, we added, "Yes, there is something in it which must be spared," and that is the glory of his authorship. In one of his later books he chastises with great dignity that small part of the Norwegian youth which has been unpatriotic enough to become boisterous agents for the Parisian decadence. But even here he is perfectly impartial; he gives them their due. He also does justice in his representation of woman. How is she looked upon? And what is she herself looking after? The measurement is not altogether in her favor, consequently not altogether in favor of society either. But in the ruin and devastation one feels the work of spring and not of fall; it is health casting off disease.

His latest book, "When the Sun Sets," is as excellent as those preceding it, though without adding anything new. The subject is an unfaithful wife who keeps the whole family in deadly suspense until the husband, a physician, gets rid of her by poison. Thus peace is restored in his home and no outsider suspects what has been done. Psychologically this picture is undoubtedly true; at any rate it is interesting. But it may be questioned whether the plot is not derived from French literature rather than from Scandinavian life. In France the sexual relations play a much larger rôle than in Norway, and consequently marriage stands somewhat lower. With us woman is not the property of man any more, and, even when caught sinning, she cannot righteously be shot, stabbed, or poisoned to death. We begin to understand that it is better to let an unfaithful wife follow him she loves than to slay her. She belongs more to him than to the husband she does not love, and under no circumstances can a human being become a piece of property. Those few cases—always in the big cities—in which a husband takes so frightful and, I may add, so cowardly a vengeance because his love is no longer returned, but secretly betrayed—are not those few cases also a fruit of the reading of French novels and criminal stories? That sense of honor which cannot feel satisfied with less than an expiation in blood has begun to look somewhat antiquated and pharisaical to most of us. But by what he paints the poet prepares the way for something else, consciously or unconsciously; his finer conception of man, his higher view of the race, compel him to do so. We shall probably live to see Scandinavian

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literature separate itself entirely from Romanic literature in the chapter of adultery. In another novel Jonas Lie introduces us to a family of distinction. After many futile starts, the children turn out to be good-for-nothing; miserable, and in her wrath, the proud mother blows up herself and them with dynamite. But this startling finale—is n't that too an imp of French contagion? Would it not have been truer to northern character if she had taken them to the potato-field and begun digging?

Jonas Lie's art has no side-shows. It is concentrated with strong directness on the task in hand. In such a case one should expect to find the plot very elaborate; but it is not so. Large prominent pictures of strongly concentrated scenes are also rare. The narrative moves along smoothly through minor details of characterization, often exquisitely fine, through every-day events, more or less plastically represented, and by the aid of connecting remarks, always from the lips of one of the characters. Often we meet with a droll but nevertheless winning inaptitude; we see at once the line sought for and the means applied to find it. But those difficulties never appear at points where even a master might feel embarrassed, but on the contrary just at points over which the bungler skips easily. The greater the difficulty, the easier to him; he is embarrassed only when handling that which is easy. Nor does the language flow redundantly from his pen, though it is always sufficient for the demand. When the narrative begins to gather around the decision, the reader notices with admiration how much has been quietly prepared and how free and clear the characters stand in the perspective. This is to some degree the result of his method of narrating,—always placing the objects in the calm light of a shaded lamp. He may stand by and look down between the lines with a roguish smile; but the lines themselves are not allowed to laugh. His soul may be trembling with indignation or exultation, but the moment the feeling begins to make the picture unsteady, some indifferent words are dropped in, and everything is smooth again. The heat is there, but mildly distributed through the whole. Year after year, always at the same time,—just before Christmas,—those novels come home to us from across the sea (for Jonas Lie always lives abroad), visiting every harbor along our coast and received with steadily increasing gratitude by large and growing numbers of readers. But what a surprise and disappointment, when one Christmas there came, instead of those homespun stories which we used to read while the apples were baking on the stove, a book full of the wildest, weird-

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est tales—trolls, phantom-ships, and huge birds with human reason, reflections of ourselves immensely magnified by the air, the sun, and the earth! And next Christmas came another book of the same kind.

These tales are the outlines of powerful poetical conceptions, by themselves grand and marvellous. None who read and understood them could doubt any more that in one way or another some external pressure had for years kept Jonas Lie fettered by work which was too small for his powers and consequently toilsome; for it was evident that he was born to hunt over the heights, where the wide survey can be taken, where life is always healthy and dreams always nearer to the heart of nature. What vigor in that which had been forced down, since late in years it could still break forth with such a luxuriance! And what sadness in knowing that with a small people it is always mere chance whether a great creative genius ever reaches to its true poetical sphere! That form of narrative which Jonas Lie has been compelled to work out for himself has certainly the bright gleam and the free breath from the heights toward which his longings were drawn. But how powerfully would that brightness and that freedom have swung around us, if from his youth he had taken us along with him up those romantic heights! For there can be no longer any doubt that he would have been the romantic element of the period, cloudy at first, but so much the stronger and the more radiant afterward; that far above the dreary clearing-up of the Naturalists he now would have soared like the skylark over them for whom it is still morning. Though in those singular tales a rich thought has marked out the goal and a great imagination lifts its wings to flight, they have hardly achieved more than giving sketches, only here and there a full-born work of art; for even the strongest power cannot reach maturity when hedged in.

Here comes the most elegant or—to tell the truth—the only elegant vessel in the whole Norwegian fleet. Two long, glittering steel tubes show in front and tell that the vessel is not sailing for pleasure. But as the quick-firing cannons are the very best, so is everything aboard, —new, shapely, elaborate, though not according to fashion, only according to the master's own ideas, in spite of fashion, even proudly challenging it.

In the fall of 1878 I was present at the celebrated ball which the French president, Marshal McMahon, gave in the palace of Versailles. I had made the round of the grand gallery of mirrors together with the Norwegian giant—the painter Fritz Thaulow,—when I discovered

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a young man still more striking than Thaulow himself. He was the tallest and handsomest man of all the thousands present. I met him in the glamour of the place, the pomp, the music; still he looked like a revelation of a taller and stronger race. Everybody looked at him, only they could not understand why he wore none of his grand crosses, for certainly he was at least a royal prince from some far-off snowland in whose people the power of race is still felt. And I shall not deny that I was proud when he addressed me in Norwegian. It was Alexander Kjelland. Complete and finished, this favorite of the gods stepped into our literature with new subjects, a new style, and a splendor over his works as over his person when in the Versailles gallery of mirrors. If he had devoted himself to fashion, he would certainly have become the favorite of all. Every quality, external or internal, which is demanded in order to become the choice of the drawing-rooms, or the *enfant gaté* of a whole people, was his, and no doubt he was tempted by that energetic vitality which bubbles in every sentence he has written. Nevertheless, Alexander Kjelland is the most manly character in our literature.

If style is understood to be the power of an intellectually interesting personality to make itself felt solely in the expression and through the form, regardless of the matter treated; and again, with respect to the form, regardless of its polish, its dexterity, its harmony, and simply as the self-revelation of one soul to other souls—well! then Alexander Kjelland's style is, since the time of Ludwig Holberg, the most perfect in the literature common to Denmark and Norway, certainly in the Norwegian part of it, and I think also in the Danish. No other style is at once so witty and so weighty, so simple and so manly; it reminds one of a young animal sporting; it is a tiger's spring, but graceful. And it has yet another power. When his deep intimacy with nature or his truly fraternal love for his kind is allowed full play, he finds colors so delicate as otherwise are met with only in sentimental art. But in all he has written, there is not one drop of sentimentalism. With him everything is sharp, fresh, radiant; and whenever the expression becomes ingratiating, beware!—it is covering an attack.

I wish to give a quotation, the only one I shall use. It may lose a great deal by being translated, but I am nevertheless sure it will take the reader. I have selected it from his most aggressive novel, "Arbeidsfolk" ("Laboringmen"). He goes into a house of the veriest bureaucracy, not quietly, like Jonas Lie, in order to dust off and save,

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but in order to throw every bit and bundle out into the street. There are tears in his laughter while he is at the work, but he is too furious to be a looker-on while such homes play havoc among the people and push numbers of them into the emigration boat. Suddenly he stops working and rests awhile in an idyl like this:

"The banks of the Nile were packed with birds, broiling in the glowing sun. They picked at their feathers and smoothed them, and then flapped their wings to try them, and lazily snatched one of the worms or lizards swarming in the swamps. Food was indeed too plentiful, it was too hot, too quiet; they longed for cold rain, cloudy weather and a spanking breeze. Innumerable flocks of wild geese swam about in the pools between the rushes and out to the far-reaching swamps. Here and there, rising above the others, the storks and the herons stood on one leg, crouching and hanging their heads; they felt bored, frightfully bored. All kinds of snipes and water-fowls, lapwings, ruffs, brent-geese, water-hens, quails, swallows—yes, even the common starling,—all bored!

"The ibis felt scandalized by the presence of that foreign, shabbily-dressed trash, and went even so far as to lower itself by complaining to the ridiculous flamingoes which otherwise it so utterly despised. The crocodiles blinked their slimy pale-green eyes, now and then snatching a fat goose, that raised a cry and a clatter which were answered up and down the river, at last dying away in the distance—far away. And again the stillness of the desert reigned throughout the glowing landscape and among that host of drowsy birds, sitting and waiting for—they did n't quite know what they were waiting for. Then a little gray bird flew straight up in the air, hung quiet there for one moment and, flapping its wings with great rapidity, poured forth a tiny bit of a twitter; then it descended and hid itself in the grass.

"All the birds had raised their heads and listened. And at once there was a jabbering and a gabbling and a great bustle in every nook. Young foppy snipes flew up making cartwheels in the air, to show what expert flyers they were. But the cranes were more sensible; they held a general meeting to consider the lark's proposal to break up. All of them had recognized the lark by its notes, although it had but two or three, the full power of song not being in its throat yet. But while the cranes held council a terrible splash was heard and the sky darkened. The wild geese were breaking up. Divided in huge flocks they began circling in the air; then, forming a line, they started northward, and soon their cries were lost in the distance. In black throngs the starlings rose, the lapwings followed, in couples the storks screwed themselves up in the air, high up, and, becoming almost invisible, they winged their way toward the North. The great noise and uproar, of course, upset the cranes' meeting; all the world was bent on getting away, there was no time left for considering. Every moment new flocks of birds passed over North Africa, and, looking down, each with its beak greeted the merry, blue Mediterranean. The nightingales tarried the longest; but when the Danish birds started they too, for old friendship's sake, went away. The travelling fever had spread to such an extent that even the swallow and the cuckoos went along; at all events they would cross the Mediterranean, and in the meantime they could make up their minds what to do next. The ibis had regained its composure and, like an archbishop, strutted with gravity along the

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beach, the rosy flamingoes making way for His Grace, while with a solemn air they drooped their foolish heads with the broken bill.

"It grew quieter and hotter along the Nile, and the crocodiles had now to be content with nigger-beef and, on rare occasions, with that of a tough English tourist.

"But day and night the birds of passage were on their way to the North. And as a flock reached well-known places and recognized their homes, they descended, crying "goodbye" to those who were bound for a longer journey. And so they spread life and merriment throughout old frozen Europe—in woods, on fields, around the houses of the people, far out among the rushes and on the big quiet lakes. In Italy they shimmered with clusters of tiny rose-buds, up toward Southern France. The apple-trees were snowed over with pinky blossoms, and on the Parisian boulevards the leaves of the chestnut-tree were about to burst their glossy, tenacious covers. The good people of Dresden stood on the "Brühlsche" Terrace, basking in the sun and watching blocks of ice drifting down the river and piling up before the massive pillars of the bridge. But farther north it was cold, with patches of snow here and there, and a cutting wind from the North Sea. On their way the larks had decreased in number, many of them having their homes on the fields near Leipzig, others on the heath of Lüneburg. When the remainder reached Slesvig, the Danish larks asked the Norwegians whether it would not be advisable for them to wait there awhile and see how the weather turned out. In Jutland the snow still lay in the ditches and on the fences, and the northwest wind shook the beeches of old Denmark, their rolled-up leaves snugly wrapped in their brown covers. Behind rocks and under the heather birds crouched, a few of them venturing near the farm houses, where the sparrows kicked up as if they were masters there.

"All agreed that they had started too early, and if they had caught the scapegrace who had lured them away from the flesh-pots of Egypt, they would have plucked his feathers. At last a southerly wind sprang up, the Norwegian birds bade "goodbye" and across the sea they flew. When they reached home, Norway looked dreary enough. On the mountain slopes there still was snow, and in the dense forests it lay a yard high. But with the south wind came rain and soon everything was changed—not gradually and peaceably, but in a trice, —with snow-slides crashing, and torrents roaring, so that the land looked like a giant washing himself, the ice-cold water streaming down his sinewy limbs. Delicate green veils hung over the birches on the mountain slopes, along the bays, the fjords, over the western plains facing the sea, the cloudberry-bogs, along the ridges, clefts and crevices and the narrow valleys among the mountains. But the mountain peaks remained snow-covered, as if the old rocks did not think it worth while to raise their caps to such a flighty madcap of a summer. The sun shone with warmth and cheerfulness, and the wind coming from the south was fraught with more warmth, and at last the cuckoo arrived, as grand master of ceremonies, to see that everything was in order; hither and thither he flew, then seated himself in a snug nook in the innermost depths of the thicket and crowed, Spring has come!—at last old Norway was complete. And there she lay—radiant and beautiful in the blue sea,—so lean and poor, so fresh and sound, smiling like a clean-washed child.

"In the havens along the coast were life and bustle, and the white sails glided out from among the rocks and made their way across the sea. The snow-shoes were stuck up under the rafters in the ceiling, the fur-coats well powdered

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with camphor and hung away; and, just like the bear when he comes out of his lair and shakes his shaggy coat, so the people shook their heavy limbs, spat in their hands and started their spring work. Down the river went the rafts, paddled through the cold snow-water, and in the broad, fertile parts of the country the ploughs were cutting long, black furrows; up north the people were busy with the salted cod, spread out upon the bare mountains; on the western plains near the sea came wagon-loads of seaweed to be strewn on the fields, while on a hill stood a little blear-eyed man looking after a fallow horse."

Is there any people that has a more beautiful national hymn, although this is not written in verse? But how did it happen that a writer who is the proudest character in Norwegian literature, who has drawn portraits—*Else*, for instance—which belong to the finest art our time has produced, and who has exalted his native country, as it is done in the above quotation—how did it happen that such a writer was compelled to abandon literature? that the Storthing repeatedly refused to grant him the pension which all his colleagues enjoy? that not only "the right" to the last man agreed in that refusal, but a large part of "the left" too, and that at a time when "the left" was in power? It happened during a heavy political disturbance. Politics can be the noblest part of the life of a people, and ought always to be so, for it is the highest form our time knows for love to one's neighbor; but sometimes, and not so rarely either, it is the very essence of national crudity. Every people has something which makes one proud of belonging to it, but every people has also something which is humiliating. If we have powers ourselves, it is the humiliation and not the pride which strengthens our love. Alexander Kjelland proved it—and that was his crime. The situation was critical. Around his noble ship closely gathered all the anxiety and pious despondency of scared conservatism, with a great deal of vulgarity and stupidity on the outskirts. By "vulgarity" I do not refer to the poor outcasts clamoring and fighting around the heaps of refuse, the only things left them; I think of the rabble in the service of hypocrisy, popular infatuation, and royal favoritism; I think of the unclean instincts germinating both in art and business. On the bridge of the gallant vessel stood a man who had pursued them all without mercy. Now it was their turn. The greatest politician Norway ever had—Johan Sverdrup—was the president of the cabinet, and he gathered where Alexander Kjelland had sowed. But, in the critical moment and for the sake of political gain, he too forsook the knight of our literature, a knight *sans peur et sans reproche*. How many more Alexander Kjellands shall fall before political morals become a clean thing?

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I also mentioned "stupidity." Well, we are still a young people with no artistic tradition; even his admiring friends did not fully comprehend what Kjelland was. At that moment Naturalism reigned supreme, and he bewildered many a mind, slow to comprehend, when by a few strokes, as in the foreshortening of the caricaturist, he gave more than the most arduous pencilling could yield. But the style? Was his style not duly appreciated? Yes and no! Set the most exquisite Chinese porcelain before an average Norwegian who has had no opportunity of studying and comparing, and he will find the design somewhat flimsy and the colors a little weak. How can he understand why the French place the letters of Madame de Sévigné among their most precious book-treasures? Even the letters of Alexander Kjelland, though as yet mostly private, would be enough to make his name cherished; anything like them is hardly written now-a-days. It was my purpose to use only one quotation from Norwegian literature and, because he has been ill-treated, I selected from Kjelland's writings the above quotation, which will make every reader suspect what an amount of homely, spirited mirth there is in his nature, mirth of that kind which can be enjoyed only when we look down from above, and at which we often laugh in order not to weep. With joy I hear just as I am finishing these lines that something new may be expected from him.

But life must be seen from all sides. Here comes a great writer from the Westland. The family lived in plain circumstances, tossed about by the sea and ill-used by pietism and narrow fanaticism. Such a family shall certainly not teach us to look at life from above. Personally Arne Garborg began as an anxious believer who doubted; then he became a doubter who believed, that is, he doubted his own doubt; and finally he found refuge in the fashion of the day, in mysticism; making, so to speak, life's voyage with a round-trip ticket. This easily-impressible, everlastingly-searching character can most aptly be likened to a commander of a swift, dark-striped cruiser. Anything up,—he is there, suspicious, sharp-tongued. His form is the "remark" falling naturally, calmly, and well-expressed. An uncommonly sharp eye looks satirically up from it, but in the next moment the glance becomes kind, even warm. He is the "artist of the remark," as perfect as no one else is in our language. His business is to give advice, counsel, judgment, concerning anything passing by. His verdict may be and probably often is wrong, because he is nervously uncertain and passionately predisposed, and has any amount of outside errands to do.

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But it comes so strongly that it clings to the popular mind. One has to carry it along until it wears off and falls away, if, in the meantime, it has not grown up to be a new energy within us.

Garborg's remarks are generally short, but they may develop into treatises, novels, poems, as the occasion may demand. His verses are melodious and his narrative is firm. But neither one nor the other is born of that enthusiasm and that agony which create and transport. They are imitations masoned-up with fine critical sense, and Garborg is consequently not an original genius. Nevertheless, the purpose, the effect, the form of his writings have secured them a place in literature, at least so far. Voltaire himself is, in literature proper, nothing but an artist of remarks. We have in Norway another writer of high rank, and of the same artistic character, Mrs. Camilla Collet, the talented and energetic champion of woman's emancipation. She has written novels in which, with eloquent appeal and fiery accent, she has put the finger just on the sore spot, and done so with good effect. But the special result of Arne Garborg's novels is a break made into the pietism of the Westland peasants, for in Norway the well-to-do peasant is a reader of literature. Those lively people of the Westland, who for so long a time have been betrayed by their own imagination, Arne Garborg has helped to look beyond the Bible-bars. But perhaps it is necessary to be a Norwegian in order to appreciate the importance of what he has done, and, alas! it is as yet only a beginning.

A modest and unpretentious woman once said that the female sex is only a frame to which man adds the picture; that, as a poet, she wants to imitate man, but ought to restrain herself to her own particular views. If such a thing had been said to "George Eliot" or "George Sand," those two writers would certainly have felt embarrassed, for where is the boundary-line between their views of life and man's? The readers too would be at sea. Now and then they might say, "This is due to the finer sense of a woman; that is her particular experience." But with respect to the great bulk of their writings nothing of this kind could be said. And should all that be stricken out, though it belongs to the highest art the century has produced?

Once I received an anonymous letter speaking of a new book just published. The address was given and I answered, finishing by saying that the letter was written by a woman. Another anonymous letter arrived. It was rather sharp and sought to prove by the form and contents of the first that I was mistaken and a poor psychologist. But it had a postscript, and the postscript ran thus: "I will confess to you,

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however, that it was written by a woman." The anonymous writer was Amalie Skram, afterward married to the Danish author, Erik Skram.

She did not begin writing until after mature age, but most of what she first wrote was unsavory on account of its outspoken Naturalism, and it took some time before she became what "respectable" people call "readable." This circumstance, however, proves better than anything else how original she is. The hard road she had before her she had herself broken and levelled, inch by inch. But that power of will and endurance she obtained from her husband—or from any other man—as little as she obtained her natural powers and the art she has developed. How many of her works are studies and nothing more, has now become an unimportant question. The important thing is that she succeeded in producing a great novel like "Forraadt" ("Betrayed"), a masterpiece of psychological depth and powerful painting, leaving an impression as if you were out on the sea, looking down into the waters and meeting there a pair of eyes, though no face could be seen,—large eyes, opening and shutting, opening and shutting, but as cold as the sea itself. She paints secular people or the secular side of them, that is, our lifelong slavery and more or less useless contest with passions and external circumstances. She rarely paints the holiday side of people and never holiday people themselves, that is, the power to rise above surroundings, partly or altogether. And, because she chiefly paints the secular part of life, the sky in her pictures is low and gray. They resemble the pieces of Gerhard Hauptmann, whose singularly hypnotizing art lures us farther and farther into a long bottle, and hearing it being corked, we exclaim, "Gracious! how are we to get out again!" Amalie Skram's art is nimbler; we are carried along more briskly and through a greater variety, but not without a similar feeling of oppression. She likes best to portray life in the Westland, people from Bergen and its vicinity,—her birthplace and the scene of her youth. True to nature she paints the every-day life of these people,—their sins, their illusions, their stubborn perseverance,—and no one has done it better, no one is so rich in original studies. It is not possible to look at a photograph of Bergen or its surroundings without peopling it with the lively and striking figures from her pen.

Yet Alexander Kjelland, in his novel "Fortuna," has drawn a lady from Bergen, *Mrs. Wencke*, in whom the good traditions of the old commercial city unite with the enlightened wish for progress characteristic of our time. Even to-day it may be said of Bergen,—which still maintains a steady communication across the sea with England,

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Germany, France, and Spain,—that its inhabitants are more eager travelers and possessed of a livelier aptitude for business than those of any other city in Norway, probably in Scandinavia. The best part of the population, much mixed up and always fanciful, has in its old civilization a safe foundation for the new. *Mrs. Wencke* is a lovely type of a lady from Bergen with all her characteristics curiously blended together. Thus she becomes—I shall not say more Bergensian than those in the gallery of Amalie Skram, for that would be wrong; but I dare say that only when Alexander Kjelland's portrait of *Mrs. Wencke* is hung in the hall we have to pass through when entering into and returning from the gallery of Amalie Skram,—only then has the latter obtained its necessary supplement.

I should be very much mistaken if Amalie Skram—she and nobody else, or, at least, she before anybody else—has not stood as a model for Alexander Kjelland's *Mrs. Wencke*. For that character compels us to think of Amalie Skram as she is when beaming with sympathy and combativeness, and this leads us to believe that not all in her rich nature has been worked out yet. Her last book is an event. She entered a hospital for mental diseases, seeking rest and wanting nursing under nervous sufferings. Thus she found an opportunity to study one of those alienists who are too much inclined to see a token of alienation in any contradiction, and who in the vanity of their infallibility commit grave errors. Of him, the patients, the nurses, of the whole establishment, she gives a picture so clear in its lines and so interesting by its contents that it takes its place beside the best novels: its title is "Professor Hieronymus." To those who in the name of humanity attack the often misused, not sufficiently controlled power of the insane asylums, this masterly representation of the interior of such an establishment has become a weapon superior in strength to any other, it being the first time in literature that a great writer, with mental faculties perfectly sound, has had an opportunity to make such a study. But in another respect also the book is most interesting, for here her art shows itself with the greatest distinctness. What is its secret? Simply that she describes only what she has seen and studied to the very core; until then she says not a word about it, and consequently she needs so very few words to explain it. In that respect she is the very opposite to Zola, to whom she is often compared. He starts from a loose outline, and only as the pen runs on and one sentence pushes forth the other the picture takes form, swelling with the incidents met with on the way.

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There are still several modern Norwegian poets who should be mentioned here, but those of them who are really kings in their own realms, those who by the indisputable right of true personality are masters of their subjects and of form, could not be introduced here in a long list without doing them injustice; and the readers of magazines have only a certain amount of patience defined by tradition. I shall therefore select from among them only two representatives, my choice to be determined simply by a consideration of who may appear as the most characteristic to a foreign public.

Norway too has become a tourist-land; I am sorry to say so. Thus it may happen that some of my readers have been up on those high rocky table-lands and felt their overwhelming loneliness while gazing on the eternal glaciers far off. As you have gone on, you may have met one other human being; one—only one. He or she suddenly rose like a vision, came nearer, looked around, said a couple of words in greeting, passed by and vanished. But, in the loneliness, the impression of that one human being,—its gait, figure, eyes, voice,—becomes so strong that whenever afterward yonder waste of land is recalled to your mind, that human being follows along with it, passes by you, looks at you, says a few words and vanishes, always surrounded by a peculiar coolness from the place. Now imagine a poet who takes this passer-by into your very room in the city and does it in such a manner that, in looking at the stranger, you see again the waste of the plain and the glitter of the glacier, feel again the coolness of the place and the sweet aroma of the heather, remember the freshness of the water from the brook, and hear his voice and yours, not as if it were you and he who spoke but somebody else from behind.

Such a poet is Hans Rinck. In order to attain this power of illusion he has made the strip of neutral ground stretching between the land of the tale and the land of the novel a domain of his own. But the buffer state is not neutral any more, for he makes inroads across the frontiers on both sides. Language he treats in the same manner. He uses both the current speech and the peasant's tongue, and between the two he has fabricated an intermediate dialect which shall give musical form to the primitive impression. But this last attempt is certainly a mistake; it is fancy on a wrong track. Any peculiarity must be worked through until it finds a form intelligible to all who are familiar with art, otherwise it is not art at all. He can, however, weave the flower-gleams of the slope and the evening mists of the moor so deftly into the love-longings of the young girl that, when on

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Sundays she goes down to the church in the valley, the flower-gleams of the slope and the evening mists of the moor go to church too, and, while there, play her such tricks that the sermon of nature in the presence of the sermon of the minister causes her the sweetest anxiety. At least she is no more conscious of self than is the balm-breathing heather she passes returning to the heights. To speak plainly: his peasants are the lyrical incarnation of the spirit of valley, mountain, sea, etc.; the many-voiced expression of the nature in which they live and with which they work; and in his conception of the relation between figure and landscape—I must repeat it here in its right place—he is certainly superior to all the poets of the peasant's tongue taken together.

As surely are Knut Hamsun's descriptions of nature in the sonorous use of the current Danish-Norwegian speech the best, the grandest in Norwegian literature. I would beg all who have read the beginning of "Pan" in a translation to consider well before undertaking to state where the like of it can be found. He is tall, light, and handsome; he sprang from an old peasant stock in Gudbrandsdalen, which moved to the Nordlands near the sea. The family showed a natural turn for art; his grandfather on the paternal side was a silversmith. He himself has been a working-man and emigrant. In literature he began by committing about all the follies which it is possible for a talented boar to do in a civilized society. It seems quite Norwegian for a young author to believe that he cannot find room for himself without first trying to oust all the others; one proof among others that our civilization is still in its apprenticeship. I should not have mentioned this if it had not been so strikingly apparent that with him these and other pranks of rudeness originated from a feeling of uneasiness in the new company, a feeling which—vain and defiant as he was in the consciousness of his powers—led him to attack others simply to conceal his own weakness; perhaps he at last considered himself a reformer. But behind that appearance a good-natured face is laughing and catches your eye, and in his last works he has shown the most painstaking discretion in building up his plots and conducting their events. To that period, however, during which he committed his follies, our literature is indebted for a full-grown character of world-wide fame.

One day there appeared a tall, handsome fellow in a small town on the coast. Nobody knew him and nobody could make him out. Gifted externally and internally he filled the town with admiration, but also with amazement. He began by everywhere making the best

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impression, which, however, he immediately took the greatest pains to blot out again, was arrogant though by no means egotistic, loved those who did not like him and bit those who loved him; bragged in the grandest of style and told the worst lies about himself; he ended, a conundrum to himself and to everybody else, by jumping into the sea during an attack of fever, while a storm of twaddle was gathering over him from all points of the world, from the drawing-rooms too. The looker-on stood in danger of becoming as crazy as he himself was. The same surprises are plentiful in his style. He piles up thick layers of hypotheses one upon the other, higher and higher, with paradoxical boldness, while we retire farther and farther back for fear of the whole heap coming down upon our head, and, suddenly, he strikes the edifice with a witticism and down it comes tumbling, with noise and dust. Nevertheless, his "Mysteries" is one of the great books of our literature. What a strength in that hailstorm! What a stirring-up of the bog-waters of village conventionality!

And here I will stop. With this portrait of something powerful, though still unfinished, I will stop. Thus the future seems richer to my eyes.

But—in the whole Norwegian literature-fleet there is not one pleasure craft; even this last perplexing construction has an errand of its own. There is always something Knut Hamsun wants to free us from, always something he wants us to reach. With each day that passes he feels himself more and more strongly enlisted in the service of the fatherland. By its works Norwegian literature acknowledges that it shall take a part, and the greater part, of the common responsibility; that a book which does not clear away or build up in such a way that it tends to increase our power, enhance our courage, and make life easier to us, is a poor book, however perfect its art may be. Simply to get an opportunity to say this to the world, I have undertaken to write this sketch, the only one of the kind I have ever written or shall write.

This distinguishing mark of wholesome responsibility, characteristic of Norwegian literature as a whole (the exceptions are always set aright by general consent), is partly due, I believe, to the fact that it is the conscience of a plain democratic people, and partly to the circumstance that most of the poets were children or grandchildren of peasants, as Ludwig Holberg, Peder Dass, Henrik Wergeland, Camilla Collet, Aasmund Vinje, Ivar Aasen, Jonas Lie, Arne Garborg, Amalie

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Skram, Knut Hamsun, indeed almost all of those I have mentioned and nearly all of those I have not mentioned. This holds good of the artists too, and no other people, so far as I know, shows this peculiarity. It explains why, though the artistic talent may be great and many details marvellous, the whole work is, nevertheless, not always perfect. Artistic talent is an inheritance. It must be remembered that "art" reaches far beyond the studies and writing-desks. When a young girl attracts the sympathy of all, the reason generally is that she has an understanding of herself and of others which she applies in her address. That application is art. When a person is said to have a knack for getting anything to fit, he has already the rudiments of the sculptor's hand. With the artisan this often becomes very apparent. But it is no wonder that a turn, a talent, for art very frequently develops in a people settled among grand natural surroundings and under circumstances which compel to self-help and self-confidence. They do not live close together, but each family on its farm; there are always dangers around them, and always sharp eyes upon those dangers.

Inherited artistic aptitudes, however, are not culture. Culture means appreciation of any one and everything according to true worth. The power of fine and sure discrimination may suffice for the peasant, the artisan, the official, and yet fail—when higher up and farther out. However, it can be conquered by study. But that refined sense of harmony which is found in families of old culture, is, so to speak, a privilege. It is hard to acquire, and it is often missed in the works of artists of peasant stock, if that stock has not received blood from the families which through long times have carried the national civilization onward. It is true that such a mixture of blood has taken place in many of those peasant families from which our poets and artists sprung, but then Norway is poor and lonely situated. What has its people seen and heard? What has it been able to gather of art treasures? Nevertheless, we can be proud, I dare say, of what we have achieved in literature and art.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON.

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THE FALLACY OF TERRITORIAL EXTENSION.

THE traditional belief is that a state aggrandizes itself by territorial extension, so that winning new land is gaining in wealth and prosperity, just as an individual would gain if he increased his land possessions. It is undoubtedly true that a state may be so small in territory and population that it cannot serve the true purposes of a state for its citizens, especially in international relations with neighboring states which control a large aggregate of men and capital. There is, therefore, under given circumstances, a size of territory and population which is at the maximum of advantage for the civil unit. The unification of Germany and Italy was apparently advantageous for the people affected. In the nineteenth century there has been a tendency to create national states, and nationality has been advocated as the true basis of state unity. The cases show, however, that the national unit does not necessarily coincide with the most advantageous state unit, and that the principle of nationality cannot override the historical accidents which have made the states. Sweden and Norway, possessing unity, threaten to separate. Austro-Hungary, a conglomerate of nationalities largely hostile to each other, will probably be held together by political necessity. The question of expedient size will always be one for the judgment and good sense of statesmen. The opinion may be risked that Russia has carried out a policy of territorial extension which has been harmful to its internal integration. For three hundred years it has been reaching out after more territory, and has sought the grandeur and glory of conquest and size. To this it has sacrificed the elements of social and industrial strength. The autocracy has been confirmed and established because it is the only institution which symbolizes and maintains the unity of the great mass, and the military and tax burdens have distorted the growth of the society to such an extent as to produce disease and weakness.

Territorial aggrandizement enhances the glory and personal importance of the man who is the head of a dynastic state. The fallacy of confusing this with the greatness and strength of the state itself is an open pitfall close at hand. It might seem that a republic, one of whose

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chief claims to superiority over a monarchy lies in avoiding the danger of confusing the king with the state, ought to be free from this fallacy of national greatness, but we have plenty of examples to prove that the traditional notions are not cut off by changing names and forms.

The notion that gain of territory is gain of wealth and strength for the state, after the expedient size has been won, is a delusion. In the Middle Ages the beneficial interest in land and the jurisdiction over the people who lived on it were united in one person. The modern great states, upon their formation, took to themselves the jurisdiction, and the beneficial interest turned into full property in land. The confusion of the two often reappears now, and it is one of the most fruitful causes of fallacy in public questions. It is often said that the United States owns silver mines, and it is inferred that the policy of the state in regard to money and currency ought to be controlled in some way by this fact. The "United States," as a subject of property rights and of monetary claims and obligations may be best defined by calling it the "Fiscus." This legal person owns no silver mines. If it did, it could operate them by farming them, or by royalties. The revenue thus received would lower taxes. The gain would inure to all the people in the United States. The body politic named the United States has nothing to do with the silver mines except that it exercises jurisdiction over the territory in which they lie. If it levies taxes on them it also incurs expenses for them, and, as it wins no profits on its total income and outgo, these must be taken to be equal. It renders services for which it exacts only the cost thereof. The beneficial and property interest in the mines belongs to individuals, and they win profits only by conducting the exploitation of the mines with an expenditure of labor and capital. These individuals are of many nationalities. They alone own the product and have the use and enjoyment of it. No other individuals, American or others, have any interest, right, duty, or responsibility in the matter. The United States has simply provided the protection of its laws and institutions for the mine-workers while they were carrying on their enterprise. Its jurisdiction was only a burden to it; not a profitable good. Its jurisdiction was a boon to the mine-workers and certainly did not entail further obligation.

It is said that the boundary between Alaska and British America runs through a gold field, and some people are in great anxiety as to who will "grab" it. If an American can go over to the English side and mine gold there for his profit, under English laws and jurisdiction, and an Englishman can come over to the American side and mine gold

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there for his profit, under American laws and jurisdiction, what difference does it make where the line falls? The only case in which it would make any difference is where the laws and institutions of the two states were not on equal stages of enlightenment.

This case serves to bring out distinctly a reason for the old notion of territorial extension which is no longer valid. In the old colonial system, states conquered territories, or founded colonies, in order to shut them against all other states and to exploit them on principles of subjugation and monopoly. It is only under this system that the jurisdiction is anything but a burden.

If the United States should admit Hawaii to the Union, the Fiscus of the former state would collect more taxes and incur more expenses. The circumstances are such that the latter would probably be the greater. The United States would not acquire a square foot of land, in property, unless it paid for it. Individual Americans would get no land to till, without paying for it, and would win no products from it except by wisely expending their labor and capital on it. All that, they can do now. So long as there is a government on the islands, native or other, which is competent to guarantee peace, order, and security, no more is necessary, and for any outside power to seize the jurisdiction is an unjustifiable aggression. That jurisdiction would be the best founded which was the most liberal and enlightened, and would give the best security to all persons who sought the islands upon their lawful occasions. The jurisdiction would, in any case, be a burden, and any state might be glad to see any other state assume the burden, provided that it was one which could be relied upon to execute the charge on enlightened principles for the good of all. The best case is, therefore, always that in which the resident population produce their own state by the institutions of self-government.

What private individuals want is free access, under order and security, to any part of the earth's surface, in order that they may avail themselves of its natural resources for their use, either by investment or commerce. If, therefore, we could have free trade with Hawaii while somebody else had the jurisdiction, we should gain all the advantages and escape all the burdens. The Constitution of the United States establishes absolute free trade between all parts of the territory under its jurisdiction. A large part of our population were thrown into indignant passion because the Administration rejected the annexation of Hawaii, regarding it like the act of a man who refuses the gift of a farm. These persons were generally those who are thrown

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into excitement by any proposition of free trade. They will not, therefore, accept free trade with the islands while somebody else has the trouble and burden of the jurisdiction, but they would accept free trade with the islands eagerly if they could get the burden of the jurisdiction too.

Canada has to deal with a race war and a religious war, each of great virulence, which render governmental jurisdiction in the Dominion difficult and hazardous. If we could go to Canada and trade there our products for those of that country, we could win all for our private interests which that country is able to contribute to the welfare of mankind, and we should have nothing to do with the civil and political difficulties which harass the government. We refuse to have free trade with Canada. Our newspaper and congressional economists prove to their own satisfaction that it would be a great harm to us to have free trade with her now, while she is outside the jurisdiction under which we live; but, within a few months, we have seen an eager impulse of public opinion toward a war of conquest against Canada. If, then, we could force her to come under the same jurisdiction, by a cruel and unprovoked war, thus bringing on ourselves the responsibility for all her civil discords and problems, it appears to be believed that free trade with her would be a good thing.

The case of Cuba is somewhat different. If we could go to the island and trade with the same freedom with which we can go to Louisiana, we could make all the gains, by investment and commerce, which the island offers to industry and enterprise, provided that either Spain or a local government would give the necessary security, and we should have no share in political struggles there. It may be that the proviso is not satisfied, or soon will not be. Here is a case, then, which illustrates the fact that states are often forced to extend their jurisdiction whether they want to do so or not. Civilized states are forced to supersede the local jurisdiction of uncivilized or half-civilized states, in order to police the territory, and establish the necessary guarantees of industry and commerce. It is idle to set up absolute doctrines of national ownership in the soil which would justify a group of population in spoiling a part of the earth's surface for themselves and everybody else. The island of Cuba may fall into anarchy. If it does, the civilized world may look to the United States to take the jurisdiction and establish order and security there. We might be compelled to do it. It would, however, be a great burden, and possibly a fatal calamity to us. Probably any proposition that England should take it would

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call out a burst of jingo passion against which all reasoning would be powerless. We ought to pray that England would take it. She would govern it well, and everybody would have free access to it for the purposes of private interest, while our Government would be free from all complications with the politics of the island. If we take the jurisdiction of the island, we shall find ourselves in a political dilemma, each horn of which is as disastrous as the other; either we must govern it as a subject province, or we must admit it into the Union as a State or group of States. Our system is unfit for the government of subject provinces. They have no place in it. They would become seats of corruption, which would react on our own body politic. If we admitted the island as a State or group of States, we should have to let it help govern us. The prospect of adding to the present Senate a number of Cuban Senators, either native or carpet-bag, is one whose terrors it is not necessary to unfold. Nevertheless it appears that there is a large party which would not listen to free trade with the island while any other nation has the jurisdiction of it, but who are ready to grab it at any cost, and to take free trade with it, provided that they can get the political burdens too.

This confederated state of ours was never planned for indefinite expansion, or for an imperial policy. We boast of it a great deal, but we must know that its advantages are won at the cost of limitations, as is the case with most things in this world. The Fathers of the Republic planned a confederation of free and peaceful industrial commonwealths, shielded by their geographical position from the jealousies, rivalries, and traditional policies of the Old World, and bringing all the resources of civilization to bear for the domestic happiness of the population only. They meant to have no grand statecraft, or "high politics"; no "balance of power" or "reasons of state," which had cost the human race so much. They meant to offer no field for what Benjamin Franklin called the "pest of glory." It is the limitation of this scheme of the state that the state created under it must forego a great number of the grand functions of European states; especially that it contains no methods and apparatus of conquest, extension, domination, and imperialism. The plan of the Fathers would have no controlling authority for us, if it had been proved by experience that that plan was narrow, inadequate, and mistaken. Are we prepared to vote that it has proved so? For our territorial extension has reached limits which are complete for all purposes and leave no necessity for "rectification of boundaries." Any extension will open questions; not close

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them. Any extension will not make us more secure where we are, but will force us to take new measures to secure our new acquisitions. The preservation of acquisitions will force us to reorganize our internal resources, so as to make it possible to prepare them in advance and to mobilize them with promptitude. This will lessen liberty and require discipline. It will increase taxation and all the pressure of government. It will divert the national energy from the provision of self-maintenance and comfort for the people, and will necessitate stronger and more elaborate governmental machinery. All this will be disastrous to republican institutions and to democracy. Moreover all extension puts a new strain on the internal cohesion of the pre-existing mass, threatening a new cleavage within. If we had never taken Texas and Northern Mexico we should never have had secession.

The sum of the matter is that colonization and territorial extension are burdens, not gains. Great civilized states cannot avoid these burdens. They are the penalty of greatness because they are the duties of it. No state can successfully undertake to extend its jurisdiction unless its internal vitality is high, so that it has surplus energy to dispose of. Russia, as already mentioned, is a state which has taken upon itself tasks of this kind beyond its strength, and for which it is in no way competent. Italy offers at this moment the strongest instance of a state which is imperilling its domestic welfare for a colonial policy which is beyond its strength, is undertaken arbitrarily and has no proper motive. Germany has taken up a colonial policy with great eagerness, apparently from a notion that it is one of the attributes of a great state. To maintain it she must add a great navy to her great military establishment, and increase the burdens of a population which is poor and heavily taxed, and which has not in its territory any great natural resources from which to draw the strength to bear its burdens. Spain is exhausting her last strength to keep Cuba, which can never repay the cost unless it is treated on the old colonial plan as a subject province to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country. If that is done, however, the only consequence will be another rebellion and greater expenditure. England, as a penalty of her greatness, finds herself in all parts of the world face to face with the necessity of maintaining her jurisdiction, and of extending it in order to maintain it. When she does so, she finds herself only extending law and order for the benefit of everybody. It is only in circumstances like hers that the burdens have any compensation.

W. G. Sumner.

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A KEATS MANUSCRIPT.

"TOUCH it," said Leigh Hunt when he showed Bayard Taylor a lock of brown silky hair, "and you will have touched Milton's self." The magic of the lock of hair is akin to that recognized by nomadic and untamed races in anything that has been worn close to the person of a great or fortunate person. Mr. Leland, much reverenced by the gipsies, whose language he speaks and whose lore he knows better than they know it, had a knife about his person which was supposed by them to secure the granting of any request if held in the hand. When he gave it away, it was like the transfer of fairy power to the happy recipient. The same lucky spell is attributed to a piece from the bride's garter, in Normandy, or to pins filched from her dress, in Sussex. For more cultivated persons, the charm of this transmitted personality is best embodied in autographs, and the more unstudied and unpremeditated the better. In the case of a poet, nothing can be compared with the interest inspired by the first draft of a poem, with the successive corrections—the path by which his thought attained its final and perfect utterance.

Tennyson, it is reported, was very indignant with those who bore away from his study certain rough drafts of poems, justly holding that the world had no right to any but the completed form. Yet this is what, as students of poetry, we all instinctively wish to do. Rightly or wrongly, we long to trace the successive steps. To some extent, the same opportunity is given in successive editions of the printed work, but here the study is not so much of changes in the poet's own mind as of those produced by the criticisms, often dull or ignorant, of his readers; those especially who fail to catch a poet's very finest thought, and persuade him to dilute it a little for their satisfaction. When I pointed out to Browning some most unfortunate changes in his later editions and charged him with having made them to accommodate stupid people, he admitted the charge and promised to alter them back again, although of course he never did. But the alterations in an author's first draft almost always come either from his own finer perception and steady advance

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toward the precise conveyance of his own thought; or else from the aid he receives in this from some immediate friend or adviser—most likely a woman—who is in close sympathy with his own mood. Best of all is such a priceless thing as the Shelley manuscript in the Harvard University Library—given by Miss Jane Clairmont to Mr. William Silsbee and by him to the Library—containing many of Shelley's poems, sometimes in his own handwriting, sometimes in his wife's, and full of various readings and amendments in which both doubtless had a share. The University has reprinted in facsimile the "Skylark" thus illuminated; and Mr. Woodberry has used many of these various readings—though not so many, I think, as he might well have used—in his edition of Shelley. But the charm is, of course, in seeing and studying and touching the actual page, just as it is. For this a photograph is the best substitute, since it preserves the original for the eye, as does the phonograph for the ear. Even with the aid of photography only, there is as much difference between the final corrected shape and the page showing the gradual changes, as between the graceful yacht lying in harbor, furled, anchored, motionless, and the same yacht as a winged creature, gliding into port. Let us now see, by actual comparison, how one of Keats's yachts came in.

There lies before me a photograph[1] of the first two stanzas of Keats's "Ode on Melancholy" as they stood when first written. The manuscript page containing them was given to John Howard Payne by George Keats, the poet's brother, who lived for many years at Louisville, Kentucky, and died there; but it now belongs to Mr. R. S. Chilton, United States Consul at Goderich, Ontario, who has kindly given me a photograph of it. The verses are in Keats's well-known and delicate handwriting, and exhibit a series of erasures and substitutions which are now most interesting, inasmuch as the changes in each instance enrich greatly the value of the word-painting.

To begin with, the title varies slightly from that now adopted, and reads simply "On Melancholy," to which the word "Ode" is now prefixed by the printers. In the second line, where he had half written "Henbane" for his incantation, he blots it out and puts "Wolfsbane," instantly abandoning the tamer suggestion and bringing in all the wildness and the superstition that have gathered for years around the Loupgarou and the Wehrwolf. This is plainly no amendment suggested afterward by another, but is due unmistakably to the quick action of his own mind. There is no other change until the

[1] See following page.

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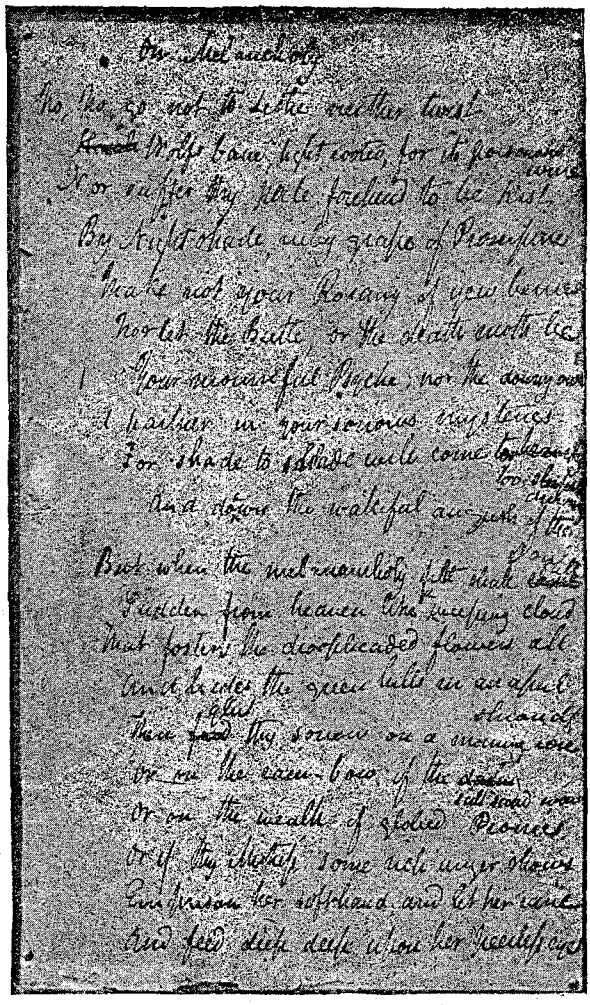
end of the first stanza, where the last two lines were originally written thus:—

> "For shade to shade will come too heavily
> And drown the wakeful anguish of the soul."

It is noticeable that he originally wrote "down" for "drown" and, in afterward inserting the *r*, put it in the wrong place—after the *o*, in-



stead of before it. This was a slip of the pen only; but it was that word "heavily" which cost him a struggle. The words "too heavily" were next crossed out, and under them written "too sleepily"; then

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this last word was again erased and the word "drowsily" was finally substituted;—the only expression in the English language, perhaps, which could have precisely indicated the exact shade of debilitating languor he meant.

In the other stanza, it is noticeable that he spells "melancholy," through heedlessness, "melanancholy," which gives a curious effect of prolonging and deepening the incantation; and this error he does not discover or correct. In the same way he spells "fit" "fitt," having perhaps in mind the "fytte" of the earlier poets. These are trifles, but when he alters the line, which originally stood

"But when the melancholy fit shall come,"

and for "come" substitutes "fall," we see at once, besides the merit of the soft alliteration, that he gives more of the effect of doom and suddenness. "Come" was clearly too businesslike. Afterward, instead of

"Then feed thy sorrow on a morning rose"

he substitutes for "feed" the inexpressibly more effective word "glut," which gives at once the exhaustive sense of wealth belonging so often to Keats's poetry; and seems to match the full ecstasy of color and shape and fragrance which a morning rose may hold. Finally, in the line which originally stood

"Or on the rainbow of the dashing wave"

he strikes out the rather trite epithet "dashing" and substitutes the stronger phrase "salt-sand wave," which is peculiar to him.

All these changes are happily accepted in the common editions of Keats; but these editions make two errors that are corrected by this manuscript and should henceforth be abandoned. In the line usually printed

"Nor let the beetle, nor the death-moth be"

the autograph text gives "or" in place of the second "nor," a change consonant with the best usage; and in the line

"And hides the green hill in an April shroud"

the middle word is clearly not "hill" but "hills." This is a distinct improvement, both because it broadens the landscape and because it averts the jangle of the closing *ll* with the final words "fall" and "all" in previous lines.

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It is a fortunate thing that, in the uncertain destiny of all literary manuscripts, this characteristic document should have been preserved for us. It will be remembered that Keats himself once wrote in a letter that his fondest prayer, next to the health of his brother Tom, would be that some child of his brother George "should be the first American poet." (This letter, printed by Milnes, was written Oct. 29, 1818.) George Keats died about 1851, and his youngest daughter, Isabel, who was thought greatly to resemble her uncle John, both in looks and genius, died sadly at the age of seventeen. It is pleasant to think that we have, through the care exercised by this Americanized brother, an opportunity of coming into close touch with the mental processes of that rare genius which first imparted something like actual color to English words. To be brought thus near to Keats suggests that short poem by Browning, where he compares a moment's interview with Shelley to picking up an eagle's feather on a lonely heath.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

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THE PROMISES OF DEMOCRACY: HAVE THEY BEEN FULFILLED?

As a people we have been taught through the passing years, marked by the events of our national life, to expect great results from a democratic form of government. The very name of democracy, as opposed to monarchy and aristocracy, carries with it the weight of historic greatness. Since the days of the Athenian republic, that name has been, among liberty-loving people, not only an inspiration to freedom and patriotism, but has served as a prototype of the highest form of government. But in these days of ultimate analysis of theories and of positive conclusions drawn from the careful collection and classification of facts, many pointed questions are being asked concerning the actual results of popular government. Some excellent persons have gone so far as to ask in good earnest if it is not, after all, a failure. Others inquire, with some feeling, if it can long survive the rude shocks of injustice and inequality that occur repeatedly in this beautiful land of our most cherished thoughts. Others ask, with thoughtful concern, if it is possible to secure a fair and just popular government where all have a measure of equality in social, legal, and political usage. There is somewhat more than a faint suspicion abroad that, while men have prided themselves on a perfect form of government, they have in fact been living upon sentiment and seeing visions, and have promised themselves greater results than it is possible to obtain by a mere form of government. As the scales fall from their eyes, they observe that this nation is not saved from the grinding poverty, the excessive selfishness, the despotism and corruption of the Old World, and that many of the promises respecting a popular government, given by legislators, historians, and orators, have not yet been fulfilled.

The promises of history respecting the power and opportunity, as well as the responsibility, of popular government are many. Some of these are based merely upon false assumptions obtained from reading history carelessly and interpreting it falsely. They represent the momentum of accumulated error. Other promises are fair and legitimate,

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based upon the principles of government, given with foresight and reason, and in many instances fulfilled. In the discussion of those promises relating to the privileges and benefits of democracy, there arises no greater delusion or misconception than that relating to equality, and yet there is no assumption brought before the people oftener, in political campaigns and legislative halls, than that of the equality of all persons in the practical workings of democracy. In the palmiest days of Athens, a large majority of the people of that magnificent state were slaves. In spite of all the philosophy, learning, and culture of the people of Greece, the most glaring inequalities existed in the Athenian democracy. But Aristotle, the greatest of the ancient philosophers, comes boldly to the relief of our cherished sentiment, stating that "equality is for equals and inequality for unequals"; and thus the argument closes, that it is equality of the members of a class that is sought in the Greek popular government. And so in the old Roman republic; the senate ruled with more arbitrary and dominant powers than any modern monarch, the Czar of Russia not excepted. The whole history of the Roman republic relates to the struggles of classes and the inequality in position, power, and opportunity, of the masses of the people. And after the republic broke down and the imperial power was once more dominant over Roman territory, these ideas of democracy passed away and were seldom referred to until the beginning of the formation of new nationalities after that mighty empire lay in ruins.

But there was started, in the Middle Ages, a new train of thought concerning the independence, liberty, and equality of man, though it was a long way yet from the assumption of political equality. It was in the renaissance period of Europe, when the whole western world was awakening to new thought and new life, when old forms were passing away, and when the mind was rediscovering its independence,—it was then that the significance of the individual in all departments of life was greatly enhanced. In fact, the individual now became a perfect type of life, while social life was thrust into the background. The right to think as one pleased concerning art, literature, and philosophy, led to great versatility of the individual life and established the principle that man could do what he chose provided he had sufficient courage and freedom of mind. The false assumption which accompanied this development was that, intellectually considered, one man was as good as another if he so willed to be, and that each had a right to set up his own opinion on the basis of intellectual equality. When this freedom

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of thought and life passed into the religious world, the right to think as one pleased respecting the religious life, without regard to the dictates of the authority of the church, plunged Western Europe into a religious revolution. In this struggle there was brought again to the mind of the people an idea of religious equality as it was in the days of old when Christ walked upon the earth and taught His disciples the doctrine of the golden rule.

Scarcely had the wars ceased which had arisen out of these principles, when the same spirit of individual liberty passed into the political world, and thoughts of equality and fraternity in government arose. These ideas, struggling on through the irregularities of three centuries of political misrule, finally asserted themselves in the outburst of the French revolution. No one can find fault with the principles for which the people struggled in this great revolution, but the false assumptions arising out of it have led thousands of people into error and delusion respecting the rights and duties of man; for, just as, in the struggle for intellectual and religious liberty, it was assumed that equal opportunity would bring equal power in the intellectual life or make men equal religiously, so it was now inferred, that political equality was a real thing and would make men equal in political power. And for a hundred years men have been reiterating and cherishing this idea of political equality, without ever being satisfied as to its results. In the varied shiftings of society the claims of freedom and equality have been enlarged by ideal reformers to mean something more than justice before the law, and fair political usage has often been interpreted to mean equality and fraternity and equal political powers and opportunities.

But the French revolution was something more than political; it was also economic. It was an outcry against the injustice and inequalities of wealth. The whole revolution shifted from a political to an industrial basis. Inequality had become more manifest through the rapid increase of wealth and its unequal distribution than in political usage, and the cry went up that the rich were growing richer and the poor poorer; that luxury and poverty were each increasing, side by side. It was assumed that the inequality was unjust and contrary to the guaranties of organized democratic forms of government. As the political passed into the industrial revolution, the false assumption of the equality of man in the economic and industrial world was an essential outcome of previous promises and conditions. While it may be freely admitted that the element of increased individuality

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gave people the same opportunity of living, believing, and acting, there was no practical evidence of equality in intellectual, political, or economic power, and, consequently, equal privileges yielded not the same to all.

Prior to the French revolution, the American colonists sought only justice, not equality. At first they were organized into political groups, each group composed of people having similar ideas respecting government, the same religious beliefs, the same general social standing. They were men accustomed to the practices of local self-government, and at once assumed it on the basis of equality and freedom to all. They assumed the equality of all because the first colonists were supposed to be, according to the dictum of Aristotle, a band of equals. The first legislature of the colony, formed at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, was composed of members chosen by all the male inhabitants of the colony. The first legislative assembly of New England, held at Plymouth in 1620, was a purely democratic body composed of all the male inhabitants of the colony. But it came to pass, as people of different religious beliefs and political sentiments and of inferior social rank appeared, that all this changed, and there was a restriction of the elective franchise among these so-called young democracies. There was no unanimous assumption that the majority of all the people should rule, but an assumption in favor of the majority only of a certain chosen set who were supposed to have sufficient judgment, ability, and public spirit to rule. This restriction of the elective franchise extended through all the colonies, and it was not until after the French revolution that the question of the natural right of man to vote or to take part in governmental affairs was favorably discussed.

The Declaration of Independence asserts that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The whole Declaration proclaims the spirit of the natural rights of man. But the several State governments continued to make the holding of property a qualification for voters. The spirit of the Declaration was forsaken in the attempt to admit to the full privileges of citizens in a republic, only those who were capable of self-government. Declaring that all men are created equal, the Government kept a large number of inhabitants in bondage and denied them the right of citizenship. Professing to believe that rulers derive their powers from the consent of the governed, those in power restricted the voice of the people to those who held property. Subsequently, the

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spirit of natural rights proclaimed by the French revolution pervaded the American Republic to such a degree that men began to assume that every citizen has a right to vote on account of personal liberty, while, under the Constitution and the laws of the several States, such a position had not been maintained. The historical principle of the right of suffrage is a matter of capability and expediency rather than a natural right. A man has a right to vote if he is capable of intelligently exercising that right in behalf of his own interests and the interests of the community at large; otherwise he cannot claim that right. Yet orators, legislators, and even historical writers have promised us more.

And this delusion has led us into a large extension of the elective franchise, taking in masses of people who are not acquainted with the spirit of our Government and, therefore, not capable of exercising the rights and privileges of citizens. And this has been done under another delusion,—that the majority of the people are always right in their decisions and capable of ruling. There have been cases in the history of the United States wherein the majority have made a poor choice in the selection of representatives to the law-making body. There are communities in the United States to-day where, if power were turned over solely to the majority, they would be unfit to rule. Yet we have promised ourselves that the majority shall rule and that the minority shall be ruled out.

It frequently happens in a state that nearly half the voters have no representation according to their own choice in legislative halls, while the party having a small majority elects every Congressman and every member of the legislature for the time being. This practically disfranchises a large number of the people. For years the minority party in Baltimore, although at times nearly equal to the majority in number, had no voice in the management of governmental affairs. They were, strictly speaking, without representation. So, too, with the State of Maine; there the minority party for years was without representation in the legislature. In the Congressional election of 1892, the Republicans, with 41.9 per cent of the total vote, elected 36.8 per cent of the Representatives; the Democrats, with 47.2 per cent of the vote, obtained 59.8 per cent of the Representatives; the Populists, with 8.7 per cent of the vote, obtained 3.4 per cent of the Representatives; the Prohibitionists, with 2 per cent of the vote, secured no Representative. In 1894, the Republicans, with 48.4 per cent of the total vote, elected 68.8 per cent of the Representatives; the Democrats, with 38.1 per

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cent of the vote, obtained 29.2 per cent; the Populists, with 11.7 per cent of the vote, secured only 2 per cent; and, as before, the 1.6 per cent of the Prohibitionists went unrepresented. So much for the modern method of plurality counting. If it has not been the cause of gerrymandering, it has at least made that corrupt practice possible. It is doubtful whether the handing over of the management of the Government to a majority for a period of time, while a large number is not represented, is an ideal principle of democracy. Indeed, it seems to be a gross imperfection of the representative system; no one would contend for an instant that this is a wholesome state of affairs. Though counting heads is at present the only method of determining *who shall rule for the time being, it must be said to be a very clumsy* method.

Yet there is a law of compensation in all this, from the fact that the majority does not always rule. There are many times when the opinions of the masses are registered, and when the majority comes off victorious; but if we inquire more carefully into the actual power of legislation and administration in this country, we shall find that it is the few who take the time and trouble, the few with the ability to govern, who shape things in the way that they are to go, while the great masses of the people look on and do little more than register objections from election to election. Yet we have been promised that the people shall rule on the basis that they are capable of ruling. We have also been told by ardent advocates of the democratic form of government, that the evils of the monarchies of the past have been dependent wholly upon their form of government, and hence that these would all disappear with the adoption of government by the people. A careful inquiry into the evils of monarchical forms of government in the Middle Ages, or in modern times, will show us that the trouble is not so much political as social, and that, under existing conditions, there would have been bad results under any form of government that might have been adopted. The attempt to show the failure of the Roman and Grecian republics merely on account of their form of government may be met with the same objection. Ineradicable social evils wrought the downfall of those republics, and we may infer therefrom that a republican form of government does not, in itself, ensure the well-being of a people, and that the form of government ought to depend, not upon the theories of reformers, but upon the actual conditions of social order among a people for whom the government is framed.

There is one creature that, apparently, the historical progenitors of

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democracy did not count upon, or, if they did recognize his probable existence, seemed not to realize the extent of his powers of mischief,—and that is the political demagogue, who thrives best in a republic. By his faculty of ready speech, by his vivid presentation of affairs, and by his adroit method of presenting half truths for whole truths, he is able to deceive the people, corrupt public opinion, and distort legislation,—merely to attain his personal ends. The only cure for his hurtful activity is the alert intelligence of all citizens and their combined determination to rule, not at the polls alone, but for three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

Self-government means something more than the registration at the polls of a vote concerning a measure or an officer; it means eternal vigilance; it means a daily watchfulness of measures and men. We have been promised that the people will take an interest in their own Government if it be placed in their own hands; but we are astonished more and more at the apathy and indifference of thousands of voters of this land who fail to exercise the privilege of self-government which is given them. People may well ask if this is a Government of all the people, a virtual democracy, or whether all the people are represented in the management of our affairs. It seems that many people have thought that self-government, like a perpetual-motion machine, will run itself, that it is necessary only to start it once a year at the polls and that then it will run on without any attention in the meantime; but in all the great cities and in some of the States men and women are beginning to realize that there must be a combined and constant activity of our best citizens if they are to make self-government possible and social life tolerable.

One hundred years ago no one could have imagined the present rapid growth of cities and the important questions of municipal government that now engage public attention. The rapid concentration of population has brought new evils to test our theory and practice of government. Nor can all these evils be laid to the door of foreign immigration, for many of the worst despoilers of our American life—we must admit it to our shame—are of American parentage. But while the sudden growth of urban population and the multitudes of new civic questions thereby forced upon the people tended to divorce the government from the governed, the modern reforms and radical changes in American city administration will eventually bring back the people into vital touch with their own affairs, with the management of the corporation of which they form a part. While our chief

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dangers are in city government, they will be soonest remedied, because the people can here more readily than elsewhere be made to see their own interests. And while the form and scope of city government, and the character of its administration are of great importance, the question of the civic activity and responsibility of the people and of their vital touch with all municipal affairs is one of far greater and wider significance. The government of the city is the private business of every citizen; he ought to attend to his business faithfully and energetically.

There is another thing that the founders of the Republic apparently did not fully perceive, and that is, the insatiable thirst for office that has sprung up in recent years. I doubt if any one a century ago, in recounting the dangers that might befall the course of popular government, could have looked forward to a time when, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Republic would be infested by a band of greedy office-holders settling down upon the land like the locusts of Egypt, to devour the products of the toil of others in the name of service to the state. "To consume," and not to create, is their motto. There seems to have been an ancient ideal, that in a government of the people a man should be drawn reluctantly from his private business to serve his term in the management of public affairs as a solemn duty, thankful indeed when the term of office was ended, and returning, like Washington, with joy from public to private life. But, shades of the immortal Washington! we now behold a hundred hungry applicants for every office, pushing, crowding, fighting for their turn at the public crib, and when their term of office expires by law, having neither the courtesy nor the good-will to the public to retire until forcibly ejected. This is democracy gone mad! And yet the good people who have the power to stop this permit it to continue.

One of the evil results of this condition of affairs is over-legislation and over-government. In a single commonwealth we have developed law and government machinery sufficient to run an empire. We have boards and commissions without number, all of which must be filled by some one, and each of which there are thousands ready to fill. While it is easy to prove that a niggardly government, always meagre in its expenditures, is not the best government, it is true that the government of one of our western States could be better managed with half its present machinery and half its present number of officers. If boards of inspection continue to be created in the future as in the past, we shall soon be heading our legislative bills with "An

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act to create a board to supervise a board to oversee another board in order that all the promises of the election campaign shall be fulfilled." A heading of this kind would show the spirit of many legislative acts of recent years.

It has been assumed also that the tyranny of the Old World which we fought to overthrow would not rise again on American soil. And while we have disposed of the tyranny of kings and emperors, we have allowed to grow up in our midst as great tyrants as they, in the form of monopolies; and we have allowed ourselves to bow servilely before these later tyrants without restricting their power or limiting their encroachments upon our rights. If we wish to find a germane example of this, we have only to study the Southern Pacific Railroad of California to learn how one great corporation may dominate political and private interests in a great State. But the people are being aroused by a determined effort, not to destroy the corporations or injure their rightful interests, but to keep them within the legitimate bounds of well-regulated government. The general outcry against corporations is useless and senseless when the people continually vote away their own rights and privileges. The services of corporations in developing the wealth of the country have been great, yet—while we acknowledge the right of large returns to capital, risk, and managing ability—it must be insisted upon that the usual methods of many corporations are corrupt and oppressive, and that the people themselves have been largely responsible for the results, on account of the reckless manner in which they have squandered their rights and privileges through franchises and the entailment of burdens upon future generations.

We have been assured that there would be no tyrants in America, but we turn and bow servilely to the political boss, allow him to take political affairs in his own hands, and to rule while we serve. He begins with the primaries and ends with the State legislature or with Congress. We call him "tyrant" and "boss," tell him he is corrupt, that we will not endure his domineering longer,—then fall in line at the next election and vote the ticket straight for him or some other boss, and forge the chains of tyranny closer. Sometimes, indeed, we revolt and form a new party, and say we will break down this domineering spirit; then we vote for those we suppose to be the heroes of our reform measures; but, alas! we find that the chameleon has only changed his color, and we have a new boss in place of the old.

We have been promised, too, that we shall have legislation for the permanent benefit of the people, that we shall not have to rest upon

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temporary expedients, and that the people, having their voice in affairs, will see, not only their immediate, but also their ultimate needs, and will legislate accordingly; and some of our forefathers and some modern legislators have been praised for their foresight in the founding and building up of a Republic which will endure through all time. But read over the records of the laws of the various States, of any State, indeed, in the Union, and many of those passed in our National legislative halls, and see what a mass of temporizing there is,—laws that stood for a day, laws that were made and never heard of, laws that were made to serve immediate and private ends, laws which work to the detriment of the people and retard the upbuilding of the Republic. This careless and temporary legislation has cost the nation millions of money on account of the endless litigation that it has brought about. It has a tendency to wreck private interests and to lessen respect and reverence for law. Legislation, to be just, should consider, if not all the people, a large majority of them, and in that case the majority should include future generations. They who have the foresight to discern the probable trend of human society should build wisely the laws of a republic and do nothing that will cramp or stultify the life of future generations. Just legislation cannot be based upon the probabilities of a prospective campaign. The shaping of our legislation for the control of the majority at the elections is a vicious practice too much observed in our National and State legislation. At least such questions as relate to taxation, finance, and the circulation of money, having such vital importance to the people, should be considered without fear or care of the coming election. They should be settled on purely scientific principles and removed from partisan politics. We have reason to demand this from our ideals of a government of the people, and on the basis of pure common sense as well.

Again, we have been promised that there shall be no class distinctions in a democracy. We have paraded the idea of the universal brotherhood of man; of the equality of individuals; and yet, in spite of ourselves, there is one rapidly-growing class of people called laborers, and another, called capitalists,—and the gulf between them grows wider each year. There has appeared among us an aristocracy of wealth and a proletariat of poverty. England was a government of classes, France was a government of classes, Rome, even in the palmiest days of the republic, was governed by classes, Athens likewise was a government of classes; but in the United States we have thought that the class system was broken down. On account of the difference

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of conditions here we shall probably never have the class rule that dominated the older nations of the world, and yet its faint appearance on the horizon gives us cause, not necessarily for anxiety or alarm, but certainly for vigilance,—for vigilance in wise legislation and for zeal for measures adapted to protect the people.

But in spite of delusions; in spite of dreams never to be realized; in the face of the large number of legitimate promises only partly fulfilled,—in the face of all this, we must see that our national life has yielded much of rational good to the people. In spite of the fact that our ideals have been crushed and broken, that our aspirations have not been realized, we must still admit that, in comparison with other nations, we have in many respects the best Government on the face of the earth. We have here a freedom of individual life in the pursuit of any industry which we may choose, not approximated to in any other nation. Each enters life here untrammelled and free to follow the pursuit of his choice. With a comparatively inexpensive Government, we have a personal protection of people not found elsewhere. We have peaceful elections where the voice of the majority may be heard if it chooses to speak. The people may make all the laws necessary for their protection and welfare.

We have a magnificent system of public schools which begins with the kindergarten and ends with the university, in which all are free to prepare themselves for citizenship and for the art of right living, if they are but willing to pay the cost in energy and zeal. If these schools are carefully guarded, they will furnish sufficient intelligence for self-government. The standard of living of the common laborer is higher on an average in the United States than in any country of the Old World. His privileges of education, of social life, are greater. There are greater opportunities for men to rise from a lower to a higher position than in any other land. It is frequently said that the poor man of to-day is the millionaire of to-morrow. While the opportunities for rapid changes from poverty to wealth are growing less, there is still abundant opportunity for noble achievement in the accumulation of wealth, the attainment of social distinction, and the acquirement of political power. While men and women may not have equal chances in this struggle, there is at least a chance for all, and there never were greater opportunities in any other nation or in any other time.

To those who feel that the Government has been alienated from the people and has gone into the hands of demagogues and office-seekers, it may be said that there is a way to bring it again into vital touch

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with the people, and that way begins with increased popular interest in the caucus, the primary, the election, and the service throughout their term of the officers chosen. In no other way can the voice of the people be heard in good government. The safety of all government, the reform of all government, rests in the power of local units. The work must be done on the margin of governmental influences, and must be perpetually done to secure the rights and to exercise the will of the people.

There is an opportunity in the United States for a citizen to walk upright in the pride and dignity of his own manhood, sovereign and free. If he has failed to utilize this opportunity, it is time he set about it. If the carelessness of the sovereign voter and the irresponsible selfishness of the office-holders have lessened our appreciation of free government, it is, indeed, time to begin an earnest reform. We are apt to consider lightly what has been easily obtained. But in these days of peace and prosperity, we must not forget what it cost our fathers to lay the foundation of this Government, nor what it is costing us to rear the superstructure. Liberty is always expensive, and if we are not willing to pay the price, we cannot have it. We should devote ourselves to a serious consideration of the principles of popular government, and to the possibility of perpetual growth on the one hand and perpetual reform on the other. But we must not expect too much from this or from any other government. For if individual culture represents the flower of civilization, individual character represents the corner-stone of a republic. There should be especial effort made to cultivate substantial, independent, individual character in the home, in the school, and in social life.

There has been a slight tendency of late years to develop a spirit of pauperism in our nation. There has been a cause for this, and in part it comes from mistaken notions arising from the liberality and munificence of the Government toward all people. For instance, the immense and liberal gift of the Government of the millions of acres of fertile soil has led people to look to it for similar gifts. While this method of distributing free lands with a lavish hand proved a great nation-builder, such munificence cannot be repeated by the nation in this or other ways. The public-school system is a necessity to a free government, but it is not in its primal nature a charitable organization and should not give free text-books to its pupils, for if it does, the next step will be, free clothes for all students, and finally free lunch with these. It is easy to develop a spirit of pauperism through misunder-

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standing and misusing a great enterprise. It sometimes happens that the best institutions in a free government open the doorway to the worst evils. It requires wisdom, eternal vigilance, and ceaseless activity to ward off social dangers. Whatever is done should be so accomplished as neither to detract from individual responsibility, nor to develop the spirit of helplessness and expectancy.

It is easy to estimate the benefits of a free press. Indeed, a free press is indispensable to modern life as well as to a free government. One is astonished to read of the slow development of the freedom of the press so carefully curbed by the jealous monarchs of the Old World, and is gratified to observe how, with a single stroke, this nation cast off that bondage and declared for free speech and a free press. We rejoice in the masterly service of the press; but the evils which, notwithstanding its service, crop out in the exercise of this inestimable privilege, are seldom recounted. While they are not a cause for alarm, they should receive the attention of every educator and every true and patriotic citizen. It could not be foreseen that a time would come when a partisan press would seek to mislead the people. It could not be foreseen that a time would come when whole columns of "fake" news would be published; that whole columns of sensational "stuff" would be printed and read. It could not be foreseen that the family paper would contain a little of everything, like the refuse-box in a type-room. It could not be realized that a time would come when this man would be written "up" and this one "down" for personal gain. One did not realize that measures would be advocated on a purely "commercial" basis. That such things take place is shocking to our ideals of democracy. It could not be foreseen that it would be a common question as to the truthfulness of the statements made in a paper, "Who owns the paper?" "What money is behind it that makes it advocate this plan?" These questions are too common nowadays for a healthy tone of the press; but in this distrust of the press is the cure for the evil. People are losing their reverence for print. A printed lie has no more effect now than an oral one. People say every day, "I saw in the paper so and so, I do not know whether it is true or not." The campaign paper has less and less influence in elections. This has been fully demonstrated of late. The time will come when the people will demand newspapers of a higher order and obtain them. It is unfortunate that circumstances force people to lose their faith in the power of the newspaper to adhere to the truth. But speak to the editors of newspapers of the character described and they will tell you

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that they work on the law of supply and demand, that they publish what the people demand. This is a partial, and to that extent a painful, truth. Yet, if the press is to maintain its dignity as an educator of the people, it must lead and not follow. It must fearlessly express the truth, not pander to the almighty dollar nor to blind partisanship. Last summer I said to the editor of a great cosmopolitan newspaper, "Why do the newspapers print so many columns of sensational stuff in a questionable manner?" "Simply" said he, "to meet the demands of the tougher element of the community which reads nothing else. This kind of news is read by all classes that have much to do with the police; by 'sports,' inhabitants of the slums and of the 'tenderloin district.'" Would a minister preach, or a teacher teach, to please the baser elements of the community? Then why should a newspaper?

While the practice of a government of the people fails to agree with the theory, yet in the main the democracy of the United States, in the form of a representative Republic, is not a failure. But it must be conceded that the dangers are ever before us, though the remedies for evil are always at hand. Look at what the nation has passed through, —a nation that came very nearly not being formed at all. Behold its early trials and its later triumphs. Broken asunder, wounded with almost mortal wounds, it soon heals and is sound and whole again. Take note of the civilizing process applied to the millions that have come to us from Europe almost entirely untutored in democracy. See with what skill and courage the nation has avoided the political and military entanglements of the Old World. Burdened as we have been at times with our own domestic troubles, we yet have found them fewer and of less import than those of European nations. They have all been met with a firmness and a wisdom which have ensured peace, safety, and prosperity. Truly, the nation has passed through much, but it is able to endure more. Its construction is elastic, its powers are great, its life is enduring, its resources are boundless. If the wide extension of liberty has brought with it peculiar evils, it has in its nature latent power to cure them. The current of popular government is no intermittent stream; it runs, deep and strong, bearing humanity upon its bosom. It enlists the sympathies and arouses the patriotism of the people.

Suppose sudden danger should arise; there slumbers in our national life a patriotism which will defend and preserve our institutions intact. There is need of the practice of that patriotism in times of peace, in the perpetual defense of the rights of the people, at the

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ballot-box and throughout all forms of local and national government. There is need to-day of "eternal vigilance" to insure the highest results of our republican Government. Not less democracy, but more, —if it be the right kind,—is our need. We may truly say with Lowell: "Our healing is not in the storm or in the whirlwind, it is not in monarchies or aristocracies, but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to a wider and a wiser humanity."

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

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EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN TURKEY.

THERE are few countries in the world where the problems to be solved in promoting and establishing educational institutions are so serious as in Turkey. These problems arise primarily in consequence of the mixed character of the inhabitants and the peculiar relation of the races to each other.

The latest estimate of the population of the immediate possessions of Turkey is 21,830,000, of whom considerably more than half are Mohammedans. The remainder are Christians, with the exception of about 275,000 Israelites. Both Mohammedans and Christians, however, include widely differing races. The most important Mohammedan races of Turkey are the Turks, or Osmanlis, the Arabs, Kurds, and Albanians. The Christian races include Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Maronites. The languages of Turkey are Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish, Albanian, Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, and Syriac. The Israelites distributed through the empire speak Spanish, German, Russian, or Italian.

All schools are required to be enrolled in the department of public instruction, and to submit to a certain amount of supervision. The only schools which receive financial support, and are accordingly regulated in all the details of their organization by the government, are those established for the Mohammedans. It is only within the last half of the present century that it has become customary for the women of Turkey to learn how to read, although there have always been exceptions even in the darkest ages.

The art of letters was not entirely neglected by Mussulman women during the past centuries of Turkish history, as we know from the writings of some of the more celebrated among them. Of these I will mention the poetesses Zehneb and Mihri, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D., during the reign of Mohammed II, and Fitvet and Leyla, who flourished in the early part of the present century, during the reign of Mahmoud II. In the earlier days of greater freedom among Mohammedan women, there were also women preachers who were accustomed to address congregations of women in the mosques.

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Formerly there must also have been women in the palace who knew how to write and read and keep accounts, for the laws of palace government do not change, but go back to ancient times, and one of these is the custom of appointing a woman as chief treasurer of the women in the palace; and when there is no Validé Sultana (mother of the Sultan) living, this official is the first or chief woman. As in the time of Sultan Aziz, for instance, there were seven hundred women in the palace, the chief treasurer would require no small amount of mental training to carry on the financial affairs. She has also under her control a regular bureau of trained scribes, who are all women.

Even to read and write the Turkish language requires considerable mental training. Although it is a leading member of the Turanian family, it has borrowed so largely from the Arabic and Persian that a knowledge of both those languages is necessary to a student of Turkish, and the alphabet used is also a drawback, as it is the Arabic-Persian, the difficulty of which is well-known. It would seem, accordingly, that the Osmanlis labor under an immense disadvantage in the matter of education from the beginning, and that their children and those of the Christian nationalities do not start equal; for it has certainly been the case, in the past, that six or seven years were required for an Osmanli to learn to read, while an Armenian or Greek child could learn in three or four years. The Osmanlis themselves deny that this is at present true, for newer methods of teaching have been introduced, which, it is claimed, enable a child to learn to read Turkish in two or three years. However that may be, it is said that Midhat Pasha once suggested to the Sultan that the children of the resident Christian nationalities should be forbidden to learn to read, as it was unjust to give them such an advantage over the ruling nation of the land.

The origin of Turkish public schools may be traced to the old custom of having a training-class connected with the mosques, to prepare readers for the religious services. These classes gradually developed into community schools for both boys and girls, which the girls were allowed to attend till they were ten or eleven years old, thus learning to read and sometimes to write.

During the reign of Abd-ul-Medjid, from 1839 to 1861, the Validé Sultana was very much interested in education, and introduced more effective methods of teaching into the public schools, instead of the chanting in concert of the Koran, which had previously constituted all the teaching. There were then no schools for girls alone, but this Validé Sultana gathered the slave girls of the palace together and pro-

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vided teachers for them; and this may be said to have been the origin of schools for girls in Turkey.

The first public school for Mohammedan girls was established about forty years ago, in Boyadjikeuy, a village on the Bosphorus. Schools for Mussulman girls are now of three grades,—high, secondary, and primary schools. The programmes of the secondary and primary schools are published together as one programme occupying six years —presumably three years belonging to each grade. The subjects taught are reading and writing, the grammar of the Persian and Arabic languages, needlework, the elements of arithmetic and geography, and the principles of the Mohammedan religion. According to the report of the department of public instruction for 1895 there are 1,419 Moslem primary schools for girls in the empire, containing 171,526 pupils, and more than 130,000 girls enrolled in mixed primary schools.

There are thirty-nine secondary schools, of which nine are in Constantinople, and they contain more than 3,000 pupils. The first one was opened in Stamboul in 1872, under Sultan Aziz. Two schools of fine arts are included, which were opened by Subbi Pasha, a former minister of finance. These two schools were established by special irade of Sultan Aziz, thus making them quite distinct in their organization, and they remained under the control of the minister of finance till Hakki Pasha, newly created to that office in 1887, objected to the mixture of administration, whereupon the direction of the schools was undertaken by the department of public instruction. These schools offer a six years' course of study, although the girls give a large proportion of their time to needlework, fashioning the most exquisite embroideries on delicate shades of silk and satin. A foreign lady presides over each of these schools, but the teaching is in the hands of Osmanli instructors, mostly women. The head teacher of the boarding department is a black woman, Hafiz Hanum, who was graduated from the Turkish normal school in Stamboul. The girls range from the ages of twelve to sixteen, and number 316 in both schools.

I recently enjoyed the privilege of visiting the boarding department and listening to the classes taught by Hafiz Hanum, who is a most enthusiastic teacher. On entering the school, we were ushered into a large hall carpeted with straw matting, containing a number of cases with glass doors, intended presumably for libraries and apparatus to be provided in the future. The girls were quietly seated around the room on the floor, entirely unoccupied, as the teaching is oral and

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few books are used. We requested the pleasure of listening to some of the class exercises, mentioning arithmetic first. We noticed with amusement the expression of dismay on the faces of the girls at the thought of an examination in mathematics. According to the customs of Oriental etiquette the class and the blackboard were brought to us, and the board was placed in the position where we could best see it. The class called was the highest in the school, and one of the girls was told to divide a number containing four places by one containing two places. After accomplishing this with difficulty, she was given three numbers to add, of three places each. This ended the examination in arithmetic, and we were then asked if we wished to see some Turkish writing, upon which a girl wrote neatly and quickly, in the beautiful Arabic characters, some polite and complimentary expressions of welcome to us. We then asked to hear a class in geography, and this suggestion was received with as much pleasure as the request for mathematics had caused depression. Two bright-looking girls of about fifteen were called up, and they gave a careful analysis of the map of Europe in a manner that was creditable to them. This was followed by a class in history, the recitation consisting of the dates of the reigns and the recounting of the deeds of the sultans of Turkey. The exercises closed with prayers recited in concert. Prayers are conducted five times a day in all Turkish schools.

There is only one high school for Mussulman girls in Turkey. It is a normal school, is called the "Dar-ul-Moualimat" or "Home of the Lady Teachers," and is in Akserai in Stamboul. It was opened in 1870 under Sultan Aziz, and now contains 270 pupils. The nominal aim of the school is to provide trained teachers for the interior of Turkey, and at the same time to furnish poor women with a career by which they can maintain themselves. Accordingly, only the girls from the poorer classes of society attend the school. The director is a white-haired venerable effendi, and under him a Mussulman woman—Refika Hanum—acts as directrix. Fifteen teachers of both sexes are employed in the school. The programme of study presents a course of three years, and includes Persian and Arabic, Turkish literature, pedagogics, elementary science and mathematics, needlework and the piano, and eight courses in morals and religion. Elementary classes are also provided for children of all ages. No foreign language is taught in the normal school. A European visitor is impressed with the air of excessive calmness that pervades all the classes. One sees instantly that the venerable director of the Dar-ul-Moualimat does

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not approve of the rush and hurry that characterize the spirit of modern progress, and does not promote any methods that might tend to undue cerebral excitement on the part of the young women studying there.

Turkish girls of the better class in the cities, after they are too old to attend the primary schools, are largely educated at home by governesses, many of whom come from England and France, but, unfortunately, do not usually represent the highest culture of those nations, so that real love of study is not as a rule developed under their influence. Turkish women have a great aptitude for foreign languages, and those we meet on the steamers of the Bosphorus often speak French, and it is not unusual for them to speak German and English also. It is a well-known fact that many Turkish women are engaged in trade, some even carrying on an extensive business involving frequent journeys to Egypt and other places, which presupposes the ability to read and write, as well as some knowledge of arithmetic. Moreover, conversation with the Mussulman women in the capital reveals some progress at the present time in independence of thought, and, while social conditions have unavoidably arrested the development of Turkish women as a class, forces are slowly but surely working among them that will result in their final emancipation.

For the Mohammedans in Albania, no girls' schools have yet been provided in which the teaching is in the vernacular. About half of the Albanian nation are Mohammedans, and their language is the only surviving member of one of the families of the Aryan group; but it cannot yet be said to have any literature, and the people are called "bookless Albanians" by the Osmanlis. There are in Albania, however, both primary and secondary schools for girls in which the Turkish language is used as the medium of instruction, and which are presumably attended by Turkish residents in Albania.

The Kurds form another important race of Mohammedans in Turkey, and speak an entirely distinct language allied to the Persian. Their number is variously reported by different authorities as 1,000,000 and upward. Kurdish women are wild and illiterate, and there are no girls' schools among them. Mohammedans using the Arabic language are found in Syria, in the south-eastern part of Turkey, and in the Arabian provinces of Hejaz and Yemen. In Syria and in those parts of Turkey where the Arabic language is the vernacular, it is also the language of the schools established by the government. In Hejaz and Yemen education is deficient, and there are no girls' schools. Among

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the Druses in Syria, it is said that all the women are taught to read and write.

Before the recent massacres, the Armenians in Turkey numbered 2,000,000 and upward. The language is an independent member of the Aryan group, and has been a written language since the fifth century, one hundred years after the nation adopted Christianity. The earliest schools were connected with the churches, and provided the preparation for the reading and chanting in the religious services. From these were gradually evolved schools for children of both sexes. The first Armenian school for girls was opened in 1850, in Constantinople, and there are now 211 Armenian enrolled schools for girls, which are supported by the different Armenian communities and contain more than 17,000 pupils, besides a large number in mixed schools. The programmes of the Armenian schools vary, and largely follow the French system. In the highest grade a good knowledge of ancient and modern Armenian is gained, French is taught, and sometimes English and German. Elementary sciences, general history, Bible history, needlework, drawing, and music are also taught. There are in Turkey, under direct Armenian control, six special and high schools for girls. All the community schools are free, and are supported by the churches or by voluntary contributions. The efforts of this nation to provide educational opportunities for their youth during the past years of heavy taxation and discouragement are most praiseworthy, and educational progress among them has been rapid. One of the most interesting of those efforts is a normal school in Stamboul, which is altogether the result of private effort, and was founded in 1868 by a society of enterprising Armenian women, called the "Society for Promoting Education." Orphan girls are educated in this school free of charge, and are sent to all parts of the country as teachers. The course of study is good, and thorough work is done in elementary science, history, mathematics, and French. Twenty-six young women have been sent from this school to different parts of Turkey, and on an average have each taught four years. The work of this society is at present entirely stopped by the lamentable condition of affairs in the country, and even for several years past the government has not allowed the formation of any new Armenian schools. One Armenian woman—Dr. Mariam Hagopian, from the Trebizond region—has taken the degree of Ph.D. from a European university, and another—Dr. Margarit Melik Beglarian—completed her course in medicine last year in the university of Zürich. The Armenians as a nation are fond of study, and educa-

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tional progress is sure to be rapid among them so soon as freedom of action is allowed by the government.

Education among the Greeks in Turkey dates principally from the renaissance of letters in Greece after the Greek revolution. As among the Armenians, it is the result of voluntary effort, and is not state-aided. The Greeks in Turkey have, however, the inspiration of the present educational progress of their mother country. They are very generous in supporting their schools, as their patriotism turns in that direction. All Greek education is under the care of the Greek Church, and the Greek schools in Turkey rank first among non-foreign schools in the educational opportunities offered. Their most noticeable deficiency is in mathematics, and the greatest attainments of the pupils are in the Greek language. I visited a primary school in a small village near the site of ancient Cyzicus in Asia Minor, where the young children of both sexes were carefully taught the ancient Greek grammar and stood up together to read extracts from the old Greek comedies, which they seemed to enjoy and appreciate. The progress of Greek children in their language is remarkable, and little Aspasias and Iphigenias spell out the stories of their ancient namesakes with great delight. About 40,000 pupils are enrolled in the Greek schools in the Turkish Empire. The number of high schools for girls is large, prominent among which is the Zappeion in Pera (a suburb of Constantinople), founded by Kurios Zappa, a Greek resident of Roumania, and occupying a fine large building erected under his supervision. The course of study occupies eight years, and the pupils number about 400. Five years of the course are preparatory, and three belong to the gymnasium. There are, besides, two years given to the study of pedagogics, as a graduate course, by those who wish to teach. This course of study includes a complete programme in Greek—Homer, Plato, and the dramatists. The religious teaching includes the doctrines of the Orthodox Greek Church, and exegesis of the New Testament. There are no elective courses offered, but all the sciences are included in the general course, and the teaching in science is necessarily superficial, as the school contains no laboratory. The only foreign language taught is French. The Zappeion, although not the oldest of the institutions for the higher education of Greek girls in Turkey, furnishes the model for the others, of which I will mention the Pallas, also in Pera, the Johakeimion in Phanar, the central community school and the Homerion in Smyrna, and the leading secondary school in Salonica, some of the teachers of which were trained in Berlin.

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The education of girls in Bulgaria is not treated of in this paper, as Bulgaria is now practically free from Turkey. Among Bulgarian residents of the Turkish Empire proper, there are about 200 schools for girls, containing nearly 4,000 pupils. There are seven high schools for Bulgarian residents in Macedonia, containing about 400 students in all. The most advanced of these high schools is in Salonica, in which the course of study occupies six years. It is a very interesting fact that in many towns in Macedonia, where there are no high schools for girls, the girls are admitted to the boys' gymnasia, and in some instances, among a large number of male students only one or two girls are enrolled.

Besides the Christian nationalities referred to, the population of Syria includes 250,000 Maronites, and 15,000 Jacobites, whose liturgical language is Syriac. The number of schools for girls among these people is small compared with those of the other Christian nations of Turkey. Education among Jews, except as inspired by foreign effort, has made little progress in Turkey. The vernacular of Jewish schools is always some one of the European languages, although Hebrew is always taught. Much foreign educational work is done in Turkey, and the number of societies represented, especially in Syria, is large. The Roman Catholics have in many respects done good work, in what relates to schools and the diffusion of literature. They have thirty-eight enrolled schools for girls in the various cities of the empire. The French language is well taught in them, and the elements of a general education are given.

The Woman's Board of the United States has established throughout Asia Minor an extensive system of schools which has done much to popularize education for girls. The first of these was founded in Constantinople, in 1840, and at present there are sixteen high schools under American supervision in different parts of Asia Minor. The teachers in many of them are from various women's colleges in the United States, the course of study is comprehensive, and the methods of teaching are modern. Consequently their influence is strong and widely felt. None of them is a free school, but a limited number of scholarships is provided in all for those who wish to educate themselves as teachers.

The only cosmopolitan school among them is the American College for Girls in Constantinople, although there are others in which three or four nationalities are represented. This college opened as a high school in 1871, became in 1890 a chartered institution established by

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the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and is making steady progress toward the standard of higher education demanded by women's colleges in America. It offers three courses of study—classical, literary, and scientific,—and contains a musical department under the direction of Dr. Paul Lange, of Berlin. The students come from the far east in Turkey, from Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Syria, and comprise from eight to twelve nationalities, in which the cosmopolitan inhabitants of Constantinople itself are well represented. The language of this college is English, although French, German, and several languages of the country are taught, besides Greek and Latin. The alumnæ of this institution number one hundred and three, of eight different nationalities, including one Mohammedan girl, a daughter of a colonel in the Turkish army, and one Albanian, who returned to her country to establish there the first girls' school for Albanians, taught in their vernacular.

Mussulman girls would be glad to attend this college, as well as other American schools in Turkey, but are not at present allowed by the government to do so, although in Christian schools distant from Constantinople there are some Moslem students.

It will be seen from these statements that public instruction is more widely diffused through the Turkish Empire than is commonly supposed, and one may safely prophesy that, should political conditions be favorable, educational progress will be rapid among the women of Turkey in the near future.

MARY MILLS PATRICK.

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ARMENIA'S IMPENDING DOOM: OUR DUTY.

As an Armenian, I have no sympathy with the sweeping denunciation of the Turks, much less with the unqualified encomium of the Christians of the Orient. Nothing is gained by giving to the facts a partisan twist, by depicting the Mohammedan as an incorrigible devil and the Armenian as an incomparable angel. Though my own immediate relations have suffered unspeakable horrors during the recent outbreaks, still no one could be more reluctant than myself to credit the charges of astounding inhumanity, nay, of bestiality, brought against the Kurds, the Turks, and the Circassians. I have not only hailed with enthusiasm the reports of fraternal devotion and hospitality, of compassion and chivalry, shown by individual Turks to their Armenian neighbors, but I believe in them implicitly. In the cities of Trebizond, Cæsarea, Gemereg, Egin, Sivas, and Aintab, not a few Moslems risked their own lives by offering an asylum to the Christians. The example of these noble Turks not only helps us to be moderate in our judgment of the Ottomans, but in a time of moral skepticism it also helps to confirm our wavering faith in human nature. Men everywhere are better than their creeds, and, in its essentials, human nature is something like the divine.

The Armenian is so well-armed in his cause that there is no reason why he should resort to a wholesale defamation of the Mohammedan in order to engage the sympathy of Christian nations. Moreover, these exaggerated attacks upon the Turk are bound to produce, sooner or later, a reaction in his favor. The truth about the Turks and the Armenians is so easily within the reach of every candid investigator that there is no excuse for confusing the issues. Both have their full share of the virtues and vices of Oriental races.

In forming an estimate of the Armenian character, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Turks are the masters and the Armenians the slaves. Notwithstanding this vital difference the Armenians are, to say the least, intellectually and morally the peers of the Turks, and if they cannot compare favorably with the free peoples of Europe and America, it is due to five centuries of uninterrupted oppression

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and persecution to which they have been subjected. Under these circumstances, it would be unreasonable to expect of the Armenians all the virtues of Englishmen and Americans. By that stupendous obstinacy with which the Armenians, in spite of unparalleled hardships and misery, have refused to forsake the country they call their fatherland,—a country which, from time out of mind, has been the tramping-ground and the battle-field of the devastating armies of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, of Genghis Khan and Timour, of Shah Abbas and the Arabs, of the Seljuks and the Ottomans; and by that equally marvellous tenacity with which, since the close of the third century of the Christian era, they have, as a nation, clung to the faith preached to them by Gregory, surnamed "The Illuminator"—the faith in which their King Tiridates was baptized twenty-seven years before the Emperor Constantine had issued the famous Edict of Toleration, and which they have so successfully defended against the fire-worshippers of Persia, the caliphs of Arabia, and the Tartar conquerors,—by all these things they have won for themselves a place in history which cannot be taken away from them. It is to be deplored that Europe and America know so little of what it has cost the Armenians to remain Armenians and Christians in a land where Islam is without a rival and where every inducement has been offered and every severity practised to make apostates of them. But I do not despair of the civilized nations of the world, for when they study the history of this martyr-nation,—to-day the only representative of civilization and Christianity in Turkey,—and of the Vartanians, Levonians, and their noble brethren who died to stem the torrent of Persian and Ottoman fanaticism; and when they realize the ineffable sacrifices which the Armenians to-day are making to protect their homes and honor, they will not hesitate to do a little for the people who have done so much for humanity.

On May 29, 1453, Mohammed "The Conqueror" ascended the wonderful throne of the Bosphorus. From that day to this the crescent has mocked sun and breeze from the minarets of St. Sophia. During the five centuries following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, there has taken place a wonderful intellectual and spiritual awakening, as well as an unparalleled industrial progress in Europe and in America. The Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation in Germany, the Revolution in France, and the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, bear dates subsequent to the fall of the Eastern Empire. But these centuries of activity and movement for the Occidental nations have been centuries of deterioration for the Mohammedan Orient. Once

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the empire of the Sultan had an extent of more than 100,000 square leagues in Asia, Africa, and Europe, a magnificent territory with the finest harbors, richest islands and mines, and with a soil the most fertile in all the world. But this vast area has been gradually reduced, until to-day Sultan Abdul-Hamid II. has lost his hold on Europe and is proving himself unworthy of ruling his remaining possessions in Africa and Asia. That splendid empire which the Turks inherited five hundred years ago has been reduced to a state of intellectual and industrial pauperism. The traveler in Turkey is everywhere reminded, by innumerable ruins, of those nobler and sturdier races that once called the country their own, and made it the cradle of culture and religion. The Sultan and his sluggish Turks tread on a ground under which sleep the Greek and Roman sires of modern civilization. With the exception of a few mausoleums and mosques, the Ottoman Turks have not built a single town or city, or created a single industry or institution, or in any way improved the condition of the peoples they have conquered and converted. The Ottoman Government, since Solyman "The Magnificent," has been in a comatose state.

Nor is it because the Turks are Mohammedans that vandalism has been their profession, or that government "à la Turc" has been synonymous with organized brigandage: the Saracens were Mohammedans, too, but they produced scholars, and were for four hundred years the intellectual teachers of Europe; the Seljukian sultans have left monuments to their love of art and science; the Persians have given to the world Hafiz and Sadi; but the Ottoman Turks have not produced a writer or a statesman whose name will live. The saying that "wherever the Sultan's horse hoofs tread, there the grass never grows again," has been fully corroborated by the recent reports of pillage, rapine, and murder which have reached the ears of the whole world. When the Czar, Nicholas I., called the Turk "the sick man of Europe," he not only made a correct diagnosis, but he also led the civilized world to anticipate with pleasure the speedy demise of "the sick man." And though this event has been delayed, there is every indication that the time is ripe for a European coalition, a concert of civilized nations, to drive the Turks, bag and baggage, beyond the desert and steppes of that darkest Asia which was their original home.

To those who still hesitate to credit the accumulating charges against the Ottoman rule, I suggest the present deplorable condition of Armenia. Though one of the fairest lands under the sun, and inhabited by a hardy, industrious, faithful, and frugal people, Armenia

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is to-day what California was under Mexican rule—the home of banditti and cut-throats. From the southern shores of the Euxine to the ancient Ararat, and from the snow-capped mountains which feed the Euphrates and the Tigris and the Aras, to that undulating sweep toward Western Asia which the Armenian calls his native land, the besom of fanaticism has swept within the past few years more than 50,000 men, women, and children to the most agonizing death; crowded the mountain fastnesses and caves with fugitives, and left in the villages and cities only fragments of what was once a proud and independent nation. What the Turks are doing to-day to the Armenians, they did to the Greeks in 1821, when more than 40,000 were put to the sword in the island of Chios; to the Nestorians in 1843, when the rocks and plains were covered with "the scattered bones, bleached skulls, long locks of hair, plucked from the women's heads, and torn portions of the garments they had worn";[1] to the Syrians, when the streets of Deir-el-Kamar and Zableh "ran with human gore in which men waded ankle deep";[2] to the Bulgarians, when in 1876, according to the American consul-general, Eugene Schuyler, and the English Blue Book, more than 16,000 were butchered in the first two or three days under the very eyes of Europe. Happy Bulgaria! She did not shed her blood in vain. But what was Bulgaria's salvation proved to be Armenia's danger. The Mohammedans, driven from Sofia, Varna, and Rustchuk on the Danube, crossed the Bosphorus and settled in Armenia, their swords still reeking with blood. Nor were they slow in avenging their humiliation. Just a year after the Bulgarian atrocities came the report of the total extermination by the Mohammedans of the Armenians in Bayazid. The Moslem refugees from Europe, with the memory of their defeat burning in their veins, converted Armenia into an amphitheatre of plunder and murder. "These Armenians," said the government officials to the Mohammedans, "are trying to expel you from Asia, just as the Bulgarians expelled you from Europe." It is not at all strange that the fanaticism of the Turk and Kurd, once aroused by such a fear, has become uncontrollable.

If I were to enumerate the causes which are responsible for the anti-Christian feeling in Turkey, I would not hesitate to say that the religious animosities between Moslems and Christians are most to be blamed. The Oriental Christian, I am sorry to say, is as intolerant of Mohammedanism as the Moslem is of Christianity. But the Moslem is in

[1] See Layard's "Nineveh."

[2] See Van Lennep's "Bible Lands: their Modern Customs and Manners."

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power and can give expression to his hate, while the Christian is weak and cannot strike back. It is true, however, that Christianity as a religion is more susceptible to the "Zeit-Geist" than Mohammedanism, and this fact must influence, as it certainly has done, all the nations that have professed it. Mohammed gave to his followers a sword, Christ gave to his disciples a cross. Christianity, too, has been guilty of persecution in the past, but the progress of the ages has elevated, broadened, and sweetened it, while Mohammedanism continues in spirit and in doctrine just what it was almost fourteen hundred years ago. From the mosques in Cairo and Constantinople, the faithful pray to Allah to "destroy the infidels . . . . make their children orphans. . . . defile their abodes . . . . and give them and their families and their households and their women . . . . and their possessions . . . . as booty to the Moslems." Several passages in the Koran directly instigate the Mohammedans to exterminate the unbelievers:

"Verily the worst cattle in the sight of Allah are those who are obstinate infidels."

"When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them."

"Oh, prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and be severe unto them, for their dwelling shall be hell."

"Oh, true believers, wage war against such infidels as are near you; and let them find severity in you."

I gladly admit that there are passages of ravishing beauty in the Moslem scriptures, but those which I have quoted exert a greater hold upon the ignorant and fanatical rabble.

Some color is given to the statement that a "djihad" (a religious war) has been proclaimed against the Christians by the fact that during the progress of the recent wave of hate and lust which, starting in Constantinople, reached as far as Diarbekir on the Tigris, wherever an Armenian appeared at his windows with a green or white turban on his head and announced his conversion to Islam, his life, his wife, and his goods were not only spared by the mob, but protected by the troops. It is the same old cry that is raised in Armenia to-day, "the sword or the Koran." I am assured in private letters that a multitude of Christians have been converted to Islam under compulsion. Men young and old have been prostrated on the streets and subjected to the Moslem rite, and no mercy was shown to those who offered the faintest resistance. The Sultan may not have directly ordered the massacres, although Lord Salisbury in his last speech admitted that

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"among those who say it are men who have the opportunity of judging," but there is very little doubt that, as the spiritual head of the Mohammedan world, he expressed the wish to see the unbelievers converted to the true faith. Such a wish would increase his popularity with the softas, who would not hesitate to resort to any measures to realize the pious hopes of their Caliph. Moreover, to the Sultan the Islamization of the Armenians is the only practical solution of the Armenian question. If the Armenians, by remaining obdurate, are killed, their women violated, and their homes and villages looted, it is their own fault, when by embracing Islam they can not only save themselves and their homes, but they can also command the full protection of the government. What more could a gracious sovereign do for his subjects? This is, without doubt, the reasoning which makes the Sultan proof against all the scruples of conscience. Thus the Armenians are killed, not because the Sultan wants them killed, but because they refuse to be converted. In a large sense, therefore, the bloodshed in the East is in the name of religion. The age of the crusaders is over, but the age of the "crescentaders" is here with all its ancient vigor and rigor.

Of course the attempt on the part of the Armenians to improve their political condition has intensified the religious hate of the Moslems. There has always been a religious element in the political, and a political element in the religious, wars of the Moslems; and it is when these two blend in equal proportions, as in the present instance, that the fury and the thirst for blood develop to an appalling degree. It must be admitted that there is a revolutionary party among the Armenians, to which belong some of the young "hot heads" who have unquestionably resorted to desperate measures, verging upon those of rank nihilism, with the hope of forcing the Great Powers to come to their rescue. These Armenians find encouragement in the example of the Greeks and the Bulgarians who, assisted by Europe, succeeded in shaking off the Turkish yoke. Besides, the traditional interest of Russia in the welfare of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire,—as shown by the treaty of San Stefano, and the treaties of Paris and Berlin in which the six Powers of Europe united to extract from the Turk a promise to protect his Christian subjects against the predatory tribes,—led the Armenians to count upon the intervention of Europe in the case of an uprising. While I am not of the number of those who cherish the chimerical hope that Armenia—which is at present no more than a "geographical expression"—can speedily become an in-

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dependent kingdom, I cannot find it in me to be severe upon those who, goaded to exasperation by the scorpion scourge of the tyrant whose lust the Armenian is compelled to satisfy by giving his goods and his daughters, have begun to imitate their oppressors in their acts of plunder and murder. There is a limit, even to prudence, as well as to endurance. Revolution is the shadow that accompanies despotism. It is foolish to hold the shadow responsible or to attempt to strike at it. It is only when despotism is overthrown that its shadow will disappear. Without wishing to justify the questionable acts of a few of the revolutionists, I profoundly sympathize with the heroic struggle of the educated Armenians for the past thirty-five years to ameliorate the condition of their people. The liberty-loving nations of the world should be the last to blame the Armenians for their political aspirations. Those wretched and persecuted people in their distant mountain homes have caught a strain of freedom's pæan, and are making a brave effort to snap their chains and to rise to the rank of the world's free nations.

Aside from the above causes, which are of a religious and political nature, there is still another. The Turks are jealous of the Christians because of the comparative prosperity of the latter in all the principal cities of the empire. In times of peace and security the Greeks and the Armenians, who are by race and religion more European than Asiatic, easily outrun the slow-going Turk and drive him out of the markets of commerce and finance. The superior and more advanced education which the Christians receive in their schools qualifies them for important diplomatic posts from which the Turks themselves, by reason of their unfitness, are excluded. For many centuries the Greeks and the Armenians have filled high political offices in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt. It is unreasonable to blame the Oriental Christians for their mental and moral superiority to the Turks. Merit will win, even in Turkey, and it is merit—not cunning and craft, as has been insinuated by some Turkophile newspaper correspondents—which has helped the Christians the world over to become the leaders and masters. Turkey lost Europe because it found itself unable to cope with the Christians, and for the same reason it has lost the commerce of Asia. The frequently repeated charge that the Christians of the Orient are usurers who have shorn the innocent Turk of all his possessions, is a pure invention. In the interior of Asia, the people who toil and think are the Christians; the people who walk the streets, their hands folded on their back, and who crowd the cafés to smoke their

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long pipes the livelong day, are the Turks. In spite of the unfavorable conditions, the Armenians and the Greeks are to-day the civilizers of the Orient—the manufacturers, the inventors, the builders, the doctors, the lawyers, and the teachers. They are the first to adopt European manners, to build their houses after western models, to introduce English and French text-books into their schools, to translate the foreign authors, and to study the intellectual and industrial movements in Europe and in America. It is not derogatory to the Christians that the Turks cannot keep up with them.

This is but a cursory review of the principal causes which culminated a short time ago in the frightful massacres, the reports of which have startled the civilized world. The sudden outpouring of a volcano with its heated streams of lava could not have produced a greater destruction than this violent eruption of Turkish and Kurdish fanaticism and lust. Children and women, as well as men, have been disgraced and tortured to death. To this very day the officials lay the blame entirely upon the Christians. But, with the exception of a limited number, no one either in Europe or in America places any confidence in the official despatches of the government.

But why does Europe hesitate to stop the bloodshed, to terminate the blight of Turkish misrule in Asia? There is no doubt that the hereditary fear of Russian aggression is still the bugbear of Europe. It was the opinion of Napoleon that without a Turkish government in Constantinople, Russia would overrun Europe and Asia, and the Cossacks, by unseating the Saxons and the Celts in Europe, would become the masters of the world. The following conversation is reported to have taken place between Sultan Mahmoud, the grandfather of Abdul-Hamid, and a European ambassador:

"I am left alone to defend Europe against Russia, and Europe aids the Russians. But, after me, Europe will fall a victim to these Russians," said the Sultan.

"You are right," answered the European, "but do not despair of Europe. It will some day recognize the importance of Turkey as a bulwark against the Russians."

"God is good," replied Mahmoud, "let His will be done."

Turkey, therefore, has been regarded as the "advance guard" of the liberty and civilization of Europe, the only country that can hold Russia at bay. With the Czar at Constantinople, it is feared the Black Sea would be converted into a Russian dock whence his ironclads would proceed to possess the earth. But the world has been changed

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since the days of Napoleon, and it is impossible to-day for any one power to overrun the whole earth. No one was better fitted to become a modern Cæsar than Napoleon, and no country was more popular than France at the beginning of this century. Notwithstanding, Napoleon was crushed at Waterloo, and France has become a republic.

I fear that the true secret of European sympathy for Turkey is a commercial one. England and Germany manufacture the articles which are sold in the bazaars of Constantinople. The army of the Sultan is clothed, shod, and capped by Europe. Turkey manufactures nothing, builds nothing, digs nothing out of the soil; it must import everything. It is to the interest of commercial Germany and England that there should be a Turkey where they can sell their "shoddy." With the Greeks or the Armenians in power in Constantinople, there would immediately spring up native manufactories, the mines would be in operation, railroads would be built, and the people, able to supply their own needs, would stop importing to the same extent from Europe. Turkey, therefore, is a tolerated government, owing its existence not only to the political jealousies of the Powers, but also to the commercialism of Europe.

But is the civilized world under no obligations to the Armenians? In my humble opinion, it is the duty of America and Europe to intervene for good. The doctrine of non-interference is dangerous and unworthy of our religion and civilization. The Turks do not hesitate to kill in order to propagate their faith and to maintain the rule of their prophet. It is the duty of Europe, by interfering, to check their power for further evil. But Europe hesitates; and, while it is trying to make up its mind, reports of fresh outbreaks come from every direction. In this policy of stolid indifference and hesitation, Russia appears to me to be the greatest sinner. It is impossible for the Russians to forget that England, during the war of the Crimea, entered into an alliance with two despots, Napoleon III and the King of Sardinia, to save a third despot, the Sultan of Turkey. And now Russia is showing the same consideration for the tyrant of the Bosphorus. Moreover, the interests of Russia require that there be no independent or autonomous Armenia, for that would disturb her own Armenian subjects, and further, it has been the unerring policy of Russia to obstruct all reform measures in Turkey, lest "the sick man of Europe" should recover his health and prolong his days.

Germany and France take their cue from Russia. We have not heard of a single protest from official Germany against the Turkish

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atrocities. From a moral point of view, the conduct of Germany in this respect has been a great disappointment. Germany, considering her power and intellectual greatness, has done less for the cause of the oppressed and the down-trodden than any other nation in the world. Few peoples are more devoid of chivalry than the modern Germans. When have they made the cause of the persecuted their own? When have they hastened to the rescue of the weak and the oppressed? When have they made a sacrifice worthy of their heart and brain in the interests of justice and humanity? And France! The home of the Revolution, the most chivalrous nation of Europe, the land of Rousseau and the Girondists—she is dumb with the fear of Russia. Russia has hypnotized France, and her ministers are to-day receiving decorations from the Sultan.

After all, England is par excellence the moral nation of the world. Behind her driving commercialism is the English conscience. Above and beyond diplomatic England are the English people, as above its fog and mist are the everlasting skies. The first appeal of the oppressed of the world has always been addressed to the conscience of the English-speaking world—a conscience the most sensitive and the most uncompromising. With all her faults, England is still the apostle of civilization. Her Government's double-dealing with the Christians of the Orient deserves all the upbraiding it has received from the pen of William Watson, who has won the poet laureateship of humanity:

> "Never, O craven England, never more
> Prate thou of generous effort, righteous aim!
> Betrayer of a People, know thy shame!
> . . . What stays the thunder in your hand?
> A fear for England? Can her pillared fame
> Only on faith forsworn securely stand,
> On faith forsworn that murders babes and men?
> Are such the terms of glory's tenure? Then
> Fall her accursèd greatness, in God's name!"

These are scathing words, but in what other country has there been raised a voice so pure and sonorous, so mighty and moral? The Armenians are hopelessly doomed unless the English-speaking people hasten to their assistance.

A word to those Americans who are lending the influence of their voice and pen to the support of the Turkish Government. While I could myself repeat a thousand favorable things of the Turkish people,

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I find it impossible to say one good thing of the Turkish Government. Do the friends of the Turk know that Turkey to-day is one of the slave markets of the world? Do they know that in Turkey, where the scurvy, leprous dogs of the street are religiously cared for, women are debauched in the harems? Is it not in Turkey that Circassian, Georgian, and Armenian girls in their teens are sent as presents to the pashas and the Sultan? Has not the Turkish Government made puppets of women and tyrants of men? Do our prominent society women, bankers, and diplomats wish to be known as the friends of such an institution? Can they respect themselves when they try to discredit the accumulating charges against so villainous a government? To labor in America for the emancipation of woman, but to see no wrong in the systematic rapine of Christian women in Turkey; to defend the reform of abuses here, but to stay away from all meetings which demand justice to the sufferers in Turkey, are flagrant contradictions—something to be really afraid of. When I think how some of our best men and women maintain a studied silence and turn a deaf ear to the cry of agony from the cities and villages of Mt. Ararat, a terrible sadness comes over me. My hand shakes so that I cannot write; the tears fall hot upon the page before me; I feel a stifling sensation in my breast, something like a lump rises to my throat, I shudder and gasp for breath!

If we fail to save the starving Armenians, they will perish. But that is not such a dreadful thing after all. Something worse than that will happen *to us;* we will die a moral death. If Armenia's wrongs cannot provoke the righteous indignation of the civilized world, then nothing can. To turn our back upon this nation struggling for the simplest rights, namely, security to life, property, and honor, is to forfeit our claim to civilization. If we can wink at the Turkish atrocities, then alas for us! for no crack of the lash upon our moral epidermis will ever sting us into action; but, withdrawing from the great arena where truth and falsehood, liberty and oppression, clash and clang with "blows of death," we shall live on like a herd of swine, bent upon growing fat, and deaf to the bugle-call of humanity.

M. M. MANGASARIAN.

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THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF ENGLAND.

PROGRESS in social life is proportioned to the number of persons whose claim to be considered ends in themselves, and to share in all the fruits of civilization, is acknowledged and furthered by each member of society; progress in political life to the number whose claim is supported by the state, and the former progress is the condition of the latter. It follows that Democracy, in which the claims of all to the dignity and inheritance of humanity are sustained, is the perfect form of political life,—the ideal after which it must continually strive. It is, accordingly, an encouraging thing to observe that all the civilized nations are, to-day, each in its own way, more or less consciously struggling toward this ideal.

In no country is this struggle—which, for the most part, takes the form of an endeavor to elevate and enfranchise the great "toiling masses"—more obvious, more conscious, or more interesting than in England, so recently the stronghold of aristocratic exclusiveness. To persons who remember what England was thirty, or even twenty, years ago, her present attitude seems to imply a sudden and complete transformation. And transformation there has, indeed, been; but it has by no means been so sudden as it looks on the surface. It is the result of forces that have been silently working for a long time, and which are now rapidly combining toward a pretty definite result—forces ethical, economical, religious, and even philosophical, all of them finding their expression in literature.

The England of thirty years ago was still, both in thought and in practice, deeply sunk in feudalism and mediævalism, relieved only by a rather brutal economic and theoretic individualism, which deprived both of nearly all that was good in them. The political and social order, with its distinction of classes into privileged, non-privileged, and oppressed, was, in the main, feudal; while the church, which taught the lower classes to reverence the upper, their "betters," as a condition of admission through grace to equality with them in a *post-mortem* world beyond the clouds, was distinctly mediæval. At the same time, there remained little or nothing of the old duties attached

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to privilege under feudalism, and still less of the old "charity" enjoined by mediæval religion. Hence the oppressed classes were thrown helpless upon the world, to struggle for existence as best they might, and this was thought to be in accordance with the recently discovered law of the survival of the fittest.

At the present day there is a great and certainly irresistible movement to change all this. In the minds of the best men and women in England, of those who are setting the pulse-beat of its life, feudalism, mediævalism, and individualism are equally condemned, and a new order of social relations is emerging and demanding realization. To enumerate all the causes that have contributed to bring about this change would be impossible; but a few may be touched upon.

First and most obvious is the economic cause,—the condition of things brought about by the introduction of machinery into industry. This has had three important results: (*a*) It has diminished the prestige of the privileged class, by raising a considerable portion of the non-privileged to a level with it in wealth and culture, and to more than a level in enterprise, so that the notion of a special privileged class has come to seem an absurdity and worse, all the more that America has shown with what beneficial results an aristocracy can be dispensed with. (*b*) It has widened the social gulf, and put an end to all but economic relations between the "middle-class" employers of labor and their "lower-class" employees, who have thus sunk down into the dependent, initiative-destroying condition of wage-earners, or, as their least wise friends call them, "wage-slaves," leading a precarious existence at the mercy of the caprices of business, which is another name for our present temporary ignorance of the laws governing the new world-industry. (*c*) As a consequence of this, it has compelled the members of the laboring class, in order not to be completely in the hands of their employers, to coöperate for mutual protection and resistance; and this cooperation has not only proved a valuable school of institutional ethics, but has made both themselves and the general public acquainted with their condition and their aspirations, which may be said to sum themselves up in a desire for a fair share in the material and spiritual results of civilization. And this brings us naturally to what may be called,

Second, the literary cause. That much of the force of the present movement is due to the journalist, the novelist, and the poet, there can be no doubt. In the facts brought to light through trades-unions, strikes, boycotts, and the like, all these have found congenial material. The newspaper has given publicity to appalling facts and conditions;

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the novel and the poem have thrown these into forms wherein they appeal to all that is most pathetic and humane in the human heart. And this has made room for the action of,

Third, the ethical cause, which, to a large extent, may also be called the Christian cause. That altruism is as fundamentally a human attribute as egoism, is beyond question; nevertheless, the latter developed earlier than the former, which did not attain conscious expression until the rise of Christianity. Early in its career, this religion proclaimed all men to be equal in the sight of God,—that is, in their essential nature,—and called upon each to love his neighbor as himself. And, in spite of the fact that, under the influence of Greek philosophy and Roman imperialism, these fundamental ethical postulates were buried beneath a mass of dogmas and laws which turned Christianity into a system of pagan worldliness, such as we find it to be in the Middle Ages, they never altogether perished, but lay ready to spring into life so soon as the superincumbent mass should be removed. And during the last thirty years this has been in process of removal, thanks to the combined efforts of physical science, history, and literary criticism. The famous "Essays and Reviews," Lyell's "Antiquity of Man," Darwin's "Origin of Species," and Colenso's "Pentateuch," which all appeared about the same time, were but the first of a long and still continued series of works, which, if they have deprived Christianity of all that was miraculous, supernatural, and exceptional about it, have brought out into ever clearer light its marvellous depths of ethical insight and motive. Thus it has come to pass that the large humanity, which is of the very essence of Christianity, has been allowed full play at a time when the disinherited masses of England are making a strong effort to come to their own. And, after all, it is this humanity that forms the chief constructive element in the new movement, and the best guarantee of its ultimate success.

Fourth, the philosophic cause. Thirty years ago, English individualism found its theoretical expression in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, and its economic expression in the doctrine of *laissez faire*. Since then a great change has come over English thought. *Laissez faire*, having proved itself impossible in practice, has discredited the whole individualistic doctrine upon which it rested, and which was supposed to be the legitimate conclusion from the evolution theory. A more careful consideration of facts shows that individual "struggle for existence," however much it may be a fact in the sub-human world, has but a limited action in the human world; that the human

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being advances far more by combining with his fellows and making their interests his than by trying to supplant and exterminate them. In a word, human evolution has been shown to be conditioned by social unity and solidarity, and not by opposition and division. When a philosophy was sought corresponding to this view (Spencerianism being unavailable), the only one that seemed to offer itself was Hegelianism. This system, accordingly, which is entirely dead in the land of its birth, has become the leading philosophy in England, drawing to it nearly all the rising thinkers and exercising a profound influence. Its fundamental thought being that the universe, including man, is but the unfolding of a single idea in which no part has any independent existence, each being conditioned by every other and by the whole, it is distinctly anti-individualistic and socialistic, so much so that the leading apostles of socialism, Lassalle, Marx, etc., derived their inspiration from it. Its effect upon English thinkers has been to make them emphasize institutions, especially the state, and to regard the individual as merely a member of it. Though Hegel himself found a place for the church, pending the advent of philosophy to take its place, his English followers, feeling perhaps that philosophy's day has come, are mostly inclined to make the state, which they consider the social embodiment of reason, all in all, and to look to it for initiative and guidance in social advancement. Thus the extreme philosophic individualism of thirty years ago is giving place to a philosophic socialism, and the old cry of *laissez faire* to a demand for state-regulation, or even state-management, of industry.

If, now, we summarize these causes and their effects, we shall not only obtain a pretty clear notion of the forces which in England are undermining social feudalism and ecclesiastical mediævalism, in order to make way for Democracy, but we shall also understand why the democratic movement exhibits two very marked characteristics,—a tendency toward socialism in politics and an indifference toward the more internal and spiritual aspects of religion—characteristics which, while they may add to its strength in the present, can hardly fail to jeopardize its results in the future.

The new world-industry, while destroying the prestige of the aristocracy, has drawn the members of the working class together, raised them to self-consciousness, and inspired them with a determination to escape from degradation and misery into culture and well-being; and this self-consciousness and this determination have found soul-stirring expression in journalism and literature. At the same time, historical

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investigation and the "higher criticism" have delivered the spirit of Christianity from the dogmas, formalisms, superstitions, and inhumanities, in which it has been imprisoned for centuries, and left it free to go abroad and manifest itself in loving-kindness for all that bears the name of man. Along with these tendencies in society and church has gone a remarkable change in philosophic thought, which, instead of championing individualism, as in the palmy days of Spencerianism, now seeks to find metaphysical justification for the rising spirit in a monistic conception of the universe, which naturally leads to socialism, and the merging of the individual in the whole. The total outcome is a philanthropy which seeks, through institutions, and chiefly through the state, to make possible human well-being within the limits, and under the conditions, of this life, without greatly troubling itself about what may come after.

But the new spirit, although pursuing one general direction which may be thus defined, assumes different forms, some of which embody themselves in societies with more or less definite principles and programmes. Among the societies are prominent the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, the Ethical Societies, and the Society of the Christian Socialists.

The first of these, till within a few years the chief socialistic body in England, is, both in origin and spirit, almost entirely exotic. It originated with a small knot of men of very various characters and accomplishments, who, having read the works of the Hebrew socialists of Germany, Lassalle, Marx, etc., had been carried away by their specious economic theories. It may be said to stand for state-socialism in its most pronounced form, its ideal being an economic commonwealth, not differing essentially from the chess-board Utopia, with its gospel of the electric button, described in Mr. Bellamy's entertaining romance. Like the German socialistic societies, of which it is an offshoot, it expresses its love for the disinherited classes in the form of hatred for those whom it conceives to be their oppressors. It deals largely in invective, and seeks, by stirring up class-hatred, to precipitate a revolution, by which it hopes to overthrow the aristocracy, humble the *bourgeoisie* (its special horror), and, having confiscated the property of both, to establish an industrial republic, to be ruled with military discipline. Though its members do not form a happy family, and are far from being all of one mind, its general tendency is materialistic and anti-religious, with strong leanings to the picturesque and æsthetic in life, and to darkness and vacancy in death.

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It would be very unfair to say that this Society has not done good work, in stirring up the laboring classes to a sense of their misery and holding up before them the possibility of betterment. It might even be successfully argued, that the very hostile spirit and exaggerated form in which it has presented its gospel, has made it effective among a class whose world is not very different from that implied in the "Arabian Nights," a class at once ignorant of economic laws and animated by no very friendly spirit toward their "betters." This class is always ready to believe that "the state" (a very vague and mysterious term!) could, if it chose, make them all rich and give them plenty of time to play. At the same time, since this gospel is in the main destructive, its ideal fantastic, hostile to liberty, and un-English, and the way by which it purposes to reach this ideal one of violence and social dissolution, it has small chance of permanent success among a people whose common-sense is sure to get the upper hand, as soon as it finds time to reflect. Whatever future may await Germano-Judaic socialism in the land of its birth, where Jewish thought and Jewish ideals of life are daily gaining in power, we may safely prophesy that it can never be more than a passing whim in England, and must disappear, as soon as the true form of English democracy has become manifest.

Widely different from the Social Democratic Federation is the Fabian Society, which derives its name from the Roman general who "*cunctando restituit rem*," and which is purely an English product. It made a great mistake in saying, early in its career, that it was "composed of socialists," and this many of its members now feel, all the more that the term "socialist" tends more and more to be confined to the adherents of the Germano-Judaic school of economists. In this sense the Fabians are hardly socialists at all, and are daily becoming less and less so. There is, of course, considerable difference of opinion among them in regard to details; but their general position is easy enough to state. They have said to themselves: The principle of individualism and universal free competition, which was once believed to offer a solution of all economic and many social difficulties, has, on trial, been found wanting, requiring to be limited in a thousand ways by the application of another principle, which, acknowledging the solidarity of man with man, and recognizing that the interest of each is inseparable from the interest of all, is socialistic or collectivist in its nature. Hitherto this principle has been applied sporadically, and without any true comprehension of its implications and limits, the result being a hand-to-mouth and chaotic condition of things. Let us

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now adopt this principle and apply it systematically, assuming provisionally that it will solve all our difficulties, by landing us in a collectivist republic. In this way, it will be forced to show at once its implications and its limits, just as the other principle has done, and thus we shall be far on our way to discovering the true spheres and relations of the two principles by which all human society is conditioned. It follows from this that, when the Fabians call themselves socialists and hold up before the eyes of the working classes the picture of a "collectivist state" in which every man and woman shall have a place secure against want and material anxiety, they are not to be taken too seriously. They are merely making an assumption, and trying to discover by actual experiment what it will lead to, so that they may be guided by the result to the achievement of what is possible. They are in no sense Utopian or *doctrinaire*, but English and practical. They are willing to make temporary compromises, and believe it right so to do. The opening words of a pamphlet recently published by them are:—

> "The passion for compromise is a feature of the English character which annoys many people of strong opinions. Yet it has some advantages. It enables the English people to surmount some difficulties which other nations can only overcome by means of revolutions."

These words express the attitude of the Fabian Society, which, accordingly, is frequently charged with opportunism and time-serving by people of "strong opinions." But there is in reality no ground for such charges. It may, indeed, be true that, having no finished picture of the condition of things it is striving to bring about, it allows itself to be guided, in some degree, by circumstances; but a more honest, earnest, and self-sacrificing body of men it would not be easy to find in any country, or in any cause. Of the namable forces that are guiding the course of English democracy, it is at once the most powerful and the best. Its activity assumes various forms. It gives numerous lectures in all parts of the country; it publishes "essays," tracts, pamphlets, and flying sheets; it champions liberal movements; and it takes a very active part in elections. It is doing much to shape public opinion and to encourage the belief that the social transformation which England is now undergoing may be accomplished by a slow, peaceful process, instead of by violent revolution.

The Ethical Societies, though not professedly socialistic in aim, are working in the direction of socialism, partly because this is the form which the humanitarian, democratic movement assumes in Eng-

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land, and partly because many of their leading members have a strong leaning to the Hegelian bureaucratic institutionalism, of which socialism is but the extreme form. Though their range of activity has, thus far, not been very extensive, they are doing excellent work by emphasizing the element of individual morality in social life, and thus paving the way for the advent of true democracy. It is to be regretted that their views of morality do not rest upon any clear conception of the nature of the moral subject, but either hang, unsupported, in the air, or are sustained by the gossamer of Hegelian dialectic.

None of the societies thus far mentioned is based upon a religious creed, or takes any sympathetic interest in Christianity as such. The case is altogether different with the Christian Socialists, a very loosely organized body, who believe that socialism is the true institutional expression of Christianity, and the form in which it will ultimately triumph. Though their aims are necessarily somewhat dreamy and romantic (in their organ, the "Church Reformer," they advocate the "restoration of the church, the land, and the schools to the people"), they stand for a very essential element in all social change, namely, the religious. They recognize that it is only as an eternal being that man can *rationally* choose a moral life, that is, a life in which the well-being of all men is essentially included. It is a pity that they recognize this only under a form in which it no longer meets the intellectual needs, or commands the moral sympathies of earnest men. Hence it is that the Christian Socialists do not supply, in available shape, the religious element which the democratic movement so much needs.[1]

Although the above are the chief organized bodies working toward Democracy in England, they are far from including all the forces tending in the same direction. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that English thought is at present completely leavened with Democracy, in socialistic form, and Mr. Spencer may well be excused for the alarm which he shows in his "Man *vs.* the State." A very large part of recent English legislation, including that relating to public schools, is

[1] In his recent very able book, "Social Evolution," Mr. Kidd has forcibly pointed out the fact that the social conscience is essentially religious in its nature, and that our present humanitarianism is largely Christian in its origin. But, being still entangled in the meshes of a monistic evolutionism, he fails to draw any valuable conclusion from his own premises. To tell men that they must be religious, without telling them why, is to give them a stone for bread. The entire social force of Christianity rests, and always has rested, upon a belief in the eternity of the individual soul. Take this away, and Christianity becomes meaningless, and, therefore, powerless.

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socialistic in character, and there is likely to be much more of the same sort. And so strong is the humanitarian feeling even among the classes that are unfavorably affected by this legislation that they offer but a feeble and half-hearted resistance to it. Even the recent attempt of the national church to "capture" the London school-board, and to force mediæval dogma and Anglican orthodoxy upon the schools, was due to a few hot-headed enthusiasts, and did not carry with it the sympathy of the more enlightened clergy even. The liberals may well wish it success; for the better it prospers at present, the more certainly will it fail in the future. Mediævalism and feudalism must share the same fate.

Just what institutions will remain in the new order of things, and what form it will assume, it is somewhat premature to prophesy, on account of the English fondness for compromise and half-measures. Still a few points are clear enough. Though the correlated privileged class and privileged church, and, with these, the House of Lords, are certainly doomed, the English sense of humor will probably prevent any legislation forbidding the wearing of hereditary titles and similar childish gewgaws. Whether the fiction of monarchy will be permitted to continue will probably depend upon the personal conduct of the next monarch. That education, in all its grades, will be placed within reach of all, is already a foregone conclusion. But certain other things are less clear. That some steps will be taken toward the nationalization of the land, and toward the state-control, if not the state-management, of industry, with a view to preventing the amassing of wealth and consequent power in the hands of a few persons, and to providing opportunities of work for all classes, is extremely probable; but how far this will go is very uncertain. If the Germano-Judaic socialistic notions now prevailing among certain portions of the working classes in large cities should carry legislation too far in this direction; if the state should be induced to attack the institution of private property, to fetter individual initiative or effort, or to assume a paternal attitude to any class of the people, by relieving it of the responsibility of planning and struggling for its own existence and well-being,—then the very conditions of that personal liberty upon which the strength of England depends, would be removed. There is a great pitfall here, and it will require all the common-sense for which England is distinguished to avoid falling into it. And this brings me to that aspect of the democratic movement which may well cause apprehension.

The movement being, as we have seen, largely Christian in its

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origin, owes its strength to the Christian view of the value of the individual life—a view determined by a belief in individual immortality. Our tenderness for the weak and socially useless, in so far as it is not feeble sentimentality, is due to a conviction, more or less clearly formulated, that they are citizens of a kingdom which doth not yet appear. Remove this conviction, and we necessarily fall back either into the position of pagan antiquity, and of certain recent English writers, who recommend the painless murder of the useless members of society, or else into the position of those sentimental Utopians who dangle before the eyes of toiling humanity a picture of a state from which all struggle, all need for the strong exercise of the moral will, has disappeared, and life is a perpetual holiday. That the men who are guiding the English democratic movement in the direction of socialism are, to a large extent, in the latter position, and that they find a very extensive following, is only too clear. If they do not reject the Christian belief in individual immortality, they at least ignore it, and look for the sum of human well-being in the enjoyment of the good things of this life, and in relief from anxiety and struggle, both of which socialism seems to promise. Not regarding personality as eternal, and capable of everlasting progress, they are not greatly concerned about developing its highest powers through struggle and self-sacrifice and conquest, but are content to secure such peace, cleanliness, comfort, and amusement as the present world offers to the ephemeral individual. If this view should be clearly formulated and become general, the Social Democratic Federation would have a good chance to guide the fortunes of England. And I see no certain way to prevent such a catastrophe but by restoring and strengthening the belief in the infinite and eternal value of the individual spirit. That this belief is still widely held in its Christian form, and with its Christian implications, is the main reason why Social Democracy makes such slow progress; but that it will long hold its ground in this form against the attacks of the "higher criticism" of scientific evolutionism, and of Hegelian mono-idealism is very unlikely. Hence, what England needs to-day, to prevent her from falling into a sentimental, unheroic, selfish socialism, in which the individual would be lost in the mass, is, above all, a firm, impregnable conviction of the worth, independence, and eternity of the individual soul, with such a view of man's destiny as shall make the things of this material world assume their true position, certainly important enough, as mere means to the ends of an immortal personality.

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In a word, England needs a religion in which her best and leading men can with all their hearts believe. And since such a religion is demanded by the simplest good sense, we may trust that it will in due time appear—a religion free from the fancies of rabbinical Judaism, the dogmas of Greek philosophy, and the fetters of Roman imperialism.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

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EGO, ET REX MEUS: A STUDY OF ROYALTY.

How are we to believe that royalty and loyalty first became allied in the human breast? The first forms of royalty were of course caused by the dominance of some man stronger than his fellows, or more favored by circumstance, who put into practical form the injunction to let him take who has the power and let him keep who can. This form, the primitive and only natural form, is visible still in the native kingdoms of Africa, and Polynesia, and others which are termed uncivilized states. Royalty originally grew out of the instinctive tendency of the strong to tyrannize over the instinctive submission and subserviency of the weak. But royalty as existent in civilized and modern nations has nothing in common with this. It cannot be said that either the strongest or the fittest reign; and if the real grounds on which royalty is sustained are sincerely sought for they will be found to exist in the fear of change rather than in any other higher or finer feelings.

The royalty of the barbaric races is logical; the royalty, with its accompaniment, loyalty, of the Middle Ages is beautiful if not logical; the royalty of modern times is neither, and it is an anachronism, with no true affinity to the social atmosphere in which it is placed. A despotic monarchy is monstrous; a constitutional monarchy is effete; an hereditary monarchy is unjust; an elective monarchy is perilous. But from all these different forms the emanation of influence on those dominated by it is bad: in modern times unequivocally bad, for the sentiments which it arouses are injurious to morality and self-respect. In the days of St. Louis, and even so near to us as the days of the unhappy Fils de St. Louis, there existed a loyalty which had a purifying and elevating effect upon the character of those who were termed subjects. It was the finest of heroic devotions, and if it were grounded upon a fiction it was in itself a very noble fact. A superstitious, and, from an intellectual point of judgment, an absurd veneration was attached to the person of the king. He was held to be God's Anointed; he was believed to possess saintly and supernatural powers; devotion to him was one with religion; and such self-abnegation as Prince Charlie, and all the Stuarts before him,

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inspired in millions of men was of the highest possible kind of chivalrous and generous and unselfish love. Those who felt it were the better for feeling it, even though it stretched their bodies on the field of death, or set their heads above the gates of Temple Bar. The love inspired by the Bourbons and by the Valois was of the same quality. Their own moral characteristics had little to do with it; it was a blind, honest, headlong, enthusiastic adoration which made multitudes of men and women eager to die for them with rapture and pride. In a still more intense degree the great Napoleon inspired this passion or devotion. When, after the escape from Elba, he advanced alone and faced the ranks of the regiment which had been ordered to fire on him, the soldiers threw down their muskets, wept like children, and running forward to that solitary figure kissed his feet. There can be no question but that this impersonal and unselfish devotion is an ennobling feeling; it is always admirable even where its object is unworthy. But it is not possible for royalty to inspire this in modern times. What it does inspire is a greedy, mean, and fulsome insincerity based on the intensity of desire to advance by royal favor.

The chief interest, however, in the study of royalty does not so much lie in its political influences, good or bad, as in its social influences, and these seem never to be considered by those who write upon it. The political influence of all European monarchies, except those of Russia and Germany, is nil; the social influence of them all is immense. Is it beneficial? I think I am justified in saying that it is not. The sovereigns and their scions may be all that is good, well-meaning, painstaking, amiable, or what you will in their own characters; but the snobbism which is engendered by them and which is inseparable from their proximity is most injurious to human nature. The fiction which sets them apart as something superior, intangible, exalted, is a degrading and a foolish one for their peoples. The language and the attitude of men and women toward royalty is entirely wanting in self-respect. It may certainly be said that no one who respected himself, or herself, would prostrate himself with the sycophancy which is to be observed in all those who receive, or are received by, any royal persons. I know an accomplished, serious, very intellectual, and very agreeable, woman who, in a throne-room or anywhere else when she is in the presence of her queen, becomes a wholly changed being,—her face beams with an imbecile radiance, her smile is nervous, her eyes are excited, her whole person is convulsed with an ecstacy of desire to be especially singled out and conversed with by her sovereign: is it

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wholesome, is it even tolerable, that one human being should be thus affected by the presence of another? Other acquaintances of mine are in perpetual apparent worship of another sovereign. Where she goes, they go. If she makes a little trip outside her kingdom they trip too. They are always within her call and just outside her gates. Of course their fidelity, which is to them a very costly one, gets rewarded by invitations to dinner and luncheon, to weddings and baptisms, and an occasional sipping of tea by royal lips in gracious visits to their own drawing-rooms. But this devotion does not prevent them from making great fun of the august person behind her back. Perhaps she equally makes fun of them, and of their eternal pursuit of her, behind theirs. Anyhow the comedy is unworthy and the prostration insincere. Going on as it does, season after season, year after year, it must produce a baneful effect upon both the idolaters and the idol. If it were sincere its effect would be impoverishing and belittling. Being insincere its results upon character are, of necessity, execrable.

It will be objected that toadyism, flunkeyism, snobbism, are indigenous to human nature and would always be found in some degree somewhere, and this is no doubt true. But weeds which are recognized as weeds are not so baneful as weeds which are allowed to pass as flowers, and as such are cultivated. It will also be urged that an aristocracy is as harmful as royalty in its creation of these vices of servility and subserviency. But it is not so, because an aristocracy commands no obeisance and does not necessitate any formula. If the greatest seignior in the world enter your house you receive him as you would any other gentleman, and need make no difference for him whatever. To a royal person, custom and etiquette exact a manner of greeting, a manner of speaking, a manner of writing, which are in themselves offensive to the self-respect and good sense of every independent person. You must wait for a royal person to begin the conversation; you must stand until the royal person tells you to sit down; you must say "sir" or "madam" continually, or their equivalents in whatever language you speak; you must receive none of your friends so long as the royal head be beneath your roof, unless he has previously expressed a wish to see them; you must contravene no royal opinion or desire however preposterous; you must let the poor royalty languish in ennui rather than revive it by the galvanic shock of any opposition or innovation. You must also in writing to, or of, them, put capital letters to the personal pronouns used to, or of, them, as people put a capital letter to "Him" when they mean to indicate God.

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Injury is done to the public, in a great measure, by the teaching of sham sentiments and fictitious enthusiasms toward royal houses. In 1892 the British public was told that it became it to be plunged into grief at the death of the Duke of Clarence. In the year 1893 it was told that it became it to be convulsed with joy at the marriage of the Duke of York. The British public promptly counterfeited each sentiment in turn. Neither event in actual fact affected it in the least. Why should it? But it counterfeited both, and such counterfeits whether in the press or the multitude are unwholesome. They make hypocrites of a nation and waste the people's best emotions on shams.

The desertion of Gordon was a national shame; the sinking of the flagship off Tripoli was a national sorrow and loss; that the country forgave the abandonment of the one, and hardly attended to the terrible portent of the other, is due to the way in which national sentiment has been played upon, and frittered away, by the calls of the royal house upon it. The Tranby Croft scandal ought to have roused the whole country into just and irresistible indignation and action, but it excited nothing more than a passing amusement and derision. Far worse was known and openly said of this incident in society than the press ever ventured to hint; but the moral sense of the nation was not alarmed, scarcely touched. It discussed what was nothing less than a national disgrace, with cynical apathy, and most ignoble acquiescence and condonation. Is not such a state of the public conscience most discreditable, most bitterly to be lamented?

When at the Cowes yacht-racing of 1892 the German Emperor took advantage of a quibble to wrest the cup from the "Valkyrie," and did so on a plea of incredible meanness and injustice, there was no man in the whole Royal Yacht Squadron who had the courage and the candor to utter a protest. It was said that the motive of such conduct was courtesy: snobbism would be a more deserved and appropriate name.

The innumerable banquets which are offered to the royal persons on every occasion are exact emblems of the many valuable and pleasant days which are, at their instigation and by their command, wasted in senseless formula. Once, when costume was beautiful, pageantry was so also, and ceremonial was so also; but now both are unsightly and grotesque. Two bearded men in helmets, or caps, kiss each other on a railway footboard; old ladies in waterproof cloaks toddle through two lines of policemen; a fat gentleman, in a round hat, with a cigar in his mouth, walks over a piece of red carpet, nodding to a bending human hedge of supple spines; faces beam inanely,

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throngs outside the station doors cheer they know not why, troops are massed in readiness, for nowhere are these personages safe from attempts upon their lives: the whole thing is unlovely, absurd, anomalous, a caricature of what was once both intelligible and respectable but in which there is no longer either prestige or symbolism. Without dignity in its object loyalty is a mere boneless bundle of worn-out robes, and dignity perishes at the scream of the railway whistle.

Philip le Bel riding under the oaks of Vincennes amongst his knights, Edward I. spurring his charger through the hail of arrows, St. Louis seated on the bed of justice under the forest shade,—these and such as these might have ceremony because they had also beauty, dignity, and tradition; but a modern sovereign protected by police, shadowed by detectives, passed like a parcel from one frontier to another, and distributing hand-shakes in a timid effort to conciliate socialism, is a sight which would be comical beyond measure were it not so sad a satire on human folly. To an unprejudiced thinker it certainly appears that when sovereigns require all the forces of the police to protect them in their waking and sleeping, their up-rising and their down-lying,—the fact in itself is proof enough that their race is run, their utility is at an end. When the Prince of Wales patronizes the woman's dancing in the cage of the flogged and intimidated lions, and the spectacle of the boxing kangaroo, his influence is entirely pernicious; when the German Emperor eulogizes the long-distance rides, and the ideas and experience gained from them, his influence is wholly injurious to humanity. Example allied to precept is here of the most detestable kind, and the evil done by both is incalculable. Men will, in the mass, be always cruel, but cruelty applauded and recommended by persons in high place is of unending extent and injury. All the weight which attaches in society to the actions and opinions of these gentlemen is here thrown into their advocacy of a degrading brutality.

In the like manner their patronage of and participation in other brutalizing pastimes tend to the popularizing of such sports; whether it be the Prince who kills his thousands of tame pheasants in English coverts, or the Princess who takes prizes at dog-shows and goes to race-courses or wears the tufts of aigrets, the Kaiser who tortures elks with explosive bullets in Swedish forests,—the evil done is the same, the example set is the same; the influence of the acts is purely and entirely pernicious. It is absurd and illogical to legislate against cruelty, and condemn cads and costers for stoning cats and beating asses, whilst the "fountain of honor" is filled with the blood and the mud of slaughter.

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A legitimate and infinitely useful exercise of royal influence might be found in teaching humanity and tenderness by example, but this is never done by any royal person in any country in Europe. The imperial *névrose* finds delight in watching the agonies of the grand elks rolling and plunging in their torture as the exploded bullets tear their entrails, and the princely *ennuyé* seeks a momentary stimulant to jaded sensations in seeing a ballet-girl sway and wheel and poise herself within touch of the great caged tormented desert-beasts; and year after year, in one country after another, the same sickening tale of slaughter is told, the same pitiable search for diseased sources of excitement is made, by those to whom the nations are bidden to raise their hats in sign of respect and submission. In other matters their influence even when exercised with the best intentions is of pernicious effect; the potentate and the prince are alike the unconscious tools of the empiric; they are persuaded to bless where they should curse; ignorant and anxious to seem unprejudiced they are led by scientific quacks into imposing upon the public medical methods and medicaments of which they have no personal knowledge; they are conducted over laboratories and institutes as blind men are led through a labyrinth and their presence and patronage are used as baits for the credulity of the public; they become responsible for that of which they know nothing, and recite a scientific shibboleth as school children a list of biblical genealogies.

Everywhere we see royalty as inane, as commonplace, as the rest of the world at large. Its entertainments are on the same model as any millionaire's; its dinners are only distinguished by an extreme hushed dulness, funereal and tedious beyond compare; when it amuses itself it takes to the battue, the deer-drive, the race-course, the pigeon-trap, and every form of imbecile and cruel pastime common to its subjects. The office which royalty might have fulfilled with unexampled facilities for influence in it would have been that of *arbiter elegans;* royalty might have made manners, society, conversation, reception, fashion, all feel and follow its example. But it has never had anywhere the wit, the grace, or the originality necessary for the office.

Royal people are much to be pitied. No one ever tells them the truth: they are surrounded by persons who all desire to please, that they may profit by them. It is impossible for them to be certain of the sincerity of any friend. They are never alone, and they can scarcely escape in their sleep from the stare of watching eyes, and the strained ears of eaves-droppers. They probably never in their lives get a genuine answer to any question which they may put. There is

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always a young Raleigh to throw a cloak over any gutter; and if they wished to learn the truth incognito like James of Scotland they could not do so, for photography has everywhere preceded them.

The one mission which it might fulfil to the education and refinement of mankind, *i. e.* that of elevating the general tastes and making the horrors of sport unfashionable, it is incapable of doing, because it is in these respects the most prominent of all offenders itself. The gaudiest and most miserable of modern architecture pleases it the most; in art it has the same coarse taste; to society it does nothing except injury; of literature[1] happily it knows nothing so that it can do but little harm to it, except in so far that all literature suffers in a sense from the low tone of its own age. And manners, which should be, and in a measure inevitably are, the outcome of royalty, receive their model at the hands of gentlemen who have no better form of salutation than the ugly and disagreeable shake-hands, who have invented the smoking-concert, and who pass more than half their lives in railway trains, in rushing from one race-course, one barracks, or one wholesale slaughter of animals to another.

It will be alleged that the royal taste is deformed and misled by the public taste, but if royalty be incapable of controlling and elevating public taste it pronounces at once its own effeteness. The government of Russia is the worst in the whole world; it is a brutal absolutism founded on a rotting bog of corruption; the present family of Romanoff is not ancient; its blood is chiefly German; it has neither historical nor national interest or value. Yet we were told, a few months ago, that the hope of this dynasty being continued in the direct line, sent thrills of ecstasy through every Russian breast from the ice of the Baltic to the palms of Crimea. If the Russian *moujik* indeed extracted any satisfaction from that prospect we are only once more reminded of the axiom that every people has the government it deserves. The extinction of the Romanoff line might be considered a cause for rejoicing; that its continuance should have been regarded as such proves that the human race is as yet far behind in intelligence the bison and buffalo who select for their leader the wisest, strongest, best, of all the herd. But it is not from its political, but from its social, side that it is proposed in these pages to treat of royalty. The political aspect has been continually and exhaustively treated of by many philosophic writers, its social influence has been but slightly studied.

[1] The Emperor William's favorite author is Georges Ohnet, and his grandmama's is William Black!

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Yet if the political paralysis which it communicates be fatal to growth in the body politic, the social blight which it spreads is no less curious to watch. The weakness of every modern republic lies in its imitation of royalty; in its dim but servile reproduction of the person of the monarch in the person of the president. In the ideal republic there could not possibly be any president whatever. Inevitably this elected ruler reproduces and imitates the hereditary ruler; and, although in a much diminished degree, is surrounded by his atmosphere of servility, of corruption, of place-seeking, and of time-serving. Or rather, to speak more correctly, the royal atmosphere is the more replete with adulation, the presidential with corruption. The most social features of royalty are imitated by the presidents of republics: the silly ceremonies, the receiving of addresses, the opening of exhibitions, the inane routine, the public speeches, the red carpet, the bowing functionaries, the ugly inauguration shows,—all these the presidents copy from the crowned heads with as great an exactitude as the difference of caste permits. The chief difference indeed between them is that the king or prince is probably a fat person who bows well, and the president is probably a fat (or lean) person who bows ill.

The trivialities of royalty become ludicrous in an age in which these have lost such symbolism as they once possessed. Their nomination of each other to honorary colonelcies in each other's regiments, their wearing of each other's military dress, their dedication of regiments to hereditary foes, their fussing over ribbons and crosses and orders, present a picture of silliness and artificiality for the presence of which in its midst the world is distinctly the more foolish and also the poorer. On the outbreak of war these honorary colonels would endeavor to cut to pieces the foreign regiments they have commanded and the knights would try to fire machine-guns at their foreign suzerains: but this absurdity does not prevent the solemn farce of the nominations and the investments from being gone through, year after year, century after century, in the same pompous, vapid, unmeaning, and imbecile parade. The comedy furnishes the actors in it with fresh uniforms; that is all which can be said for its use. The Emperor William likes to change his uniform half a dozen times a day, and has, it is said, more uniforms than there are days in the year. From this point of view, but from this alone, his continual nominations to the command of foreign regiments can be of use to him; and to the guild of the army-tailors. They show perhaps more philosophy than they are given credit for in supporting it. Human nature must seem to

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them a very poor, mean, truckling thing; a creeping thing of pliant spine, oiled tongue, and insatiable appetite for favors. Only an immense vanity like that of William II. of Hohenzollern can make them content with themselves or with their worshippers. The burden of the boredom of the world is infinitely increased by the existence of royalty. It is the patron of ennui. It is in its very essence dull and pompous; it cannot be otherwise without losing caste. The rude practical jokes and rough horse-play in which certain living princes have taken delight are its reaction and revolt against the tedium of their lives. To put a donkey in your friend's bed may not be an intellectual form of wit, but the dreary platitudes of royal existence made the joke welcome to one who is termed "the first gentleman" of his country.

Their existence must indeed be almost intolerable to them. Never to be alone must be almost as great a punishment as always to be alone in a condemned cell. Royalty in its adversity may arouse great qualities in its adherents, but in its prosperity its moral influence is entirely mischievous on all who come under its influence. It generates subserviency, hypocrisy, and egotism; and it suffers itself from the *contre-coup* of these creatures of its loins. And so in a minor degree does every courtier; statesmen, who ought not to be courtiers, become so perforce to the injury of their character. That a Chatham should have to bow in silence before a Guelph is an unjust penalty attached to office. That a Bismarck should have to thank a Hohenzollern for his favors is a degradation to humanity in its highest intellectual form.

Nothing can be in greater contrast than the fulsome and adoring homage used in public speech, and public print, concerning all royalties, and the sarcasm, the censure, the ridicule, with which the intimate witnesses of their existence bedaub their names, in private conversation. Poor idols! so servilely venerated and flattered in public, in private so laughed at, betrayed, caricatured, derided!

Insincerity is a disease which eats through and rots all social life, but it reaches its apogee in courts. It is said that Disraeli on being asked how he had managed so completely to fascinate and subjugate his royal mistress replied to the indiscreet question "*I never contradict*"! It is of course the courtier's most essential obligation. The salt strong sea breezes of contradiction must never blow away the cobwebs from royal brains. As all must lose to them at cards, so all must agree with them in speech. It were difficult to decide to which this is the more injurious, to themselves or to their subjects.

It will be said that the snob will be always a snob, though he never

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enter the precincts of a palace, and that the high spirit and self-respect of those who are incapable of snobbism will resist the influence of palaces. But this is not wholly the case. The born snob will no doubt cringe and crawl before some deity or another, but the snob, like the microbe, increases only if the field receiving it be propitious to its growth, whereas in the atmosphere of courts one does see persons, whose birth and character should render them above such self-abasement, become servile and obsequious in their desire to gain or to retain royal favor. Courts are the field in which the bacteria of snobbism are most readily propagated. Fulsome sycophancy is sown by it broadcast like the murrain. In the recent nuptials of the Duke of York a dignitary of the English church was not ashamed to write an ode calling such a marriage "The Fairest Scene in all Creation"! Could sickly silly hyperbole swell itself to more nauseous folly? To make presents on these nuptials dockyard laborers, longshoremen, river boatmen, village peasants, mechanics, miners, parish schoolchildren, cottagers, weavers, carpenters, bricklayers,—the whole, in a word, of the poorest and hardest worked members of the nation,—were bidden, in terms which admitted of no denial, to give up a day's wage or the price of a week's meals to assist in purchasing some necklace, bracelet, or other jewel for a young lady who is to be the future wearer of the crown jewels of Great Britain! And there was not heard one single voice of all those who could speak with authority to protest against this abominable farce, this iniquitous extortion, this robbery of the poorest to enrich those made richest through the nation! Verily the populace is a too meek and long-suffering creature.

What is strangest in all this is that the want of dignity and of decency in these customs seems never to be observed or condemned. Year after year, decade after decade, roll on, and the same barbaric rites, the same mean and unworthy attitudes, continue precisely the same in precisely the same measure. This hanging about of royal idols with cut glass and stones, this pouring out of gifts which are scarcely looked at, never used, this counterfeiting of unreal pleasure, of sham devotion, of interested zeal, and of mock enthusiasm—when will they end? When will they be seen to be as demoralizing as they are grotesque?

The noble and historic castles of Scotland—Linlithgow, Lochleven, Stirling, Dumbarton—are all going to inevitable ruin because neither the state nor the public will find the funds necessary for keeping wind and water out of them. Would not their preservation be a finer and

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worthier mark than the accumulation of trinkets and toys for a royal bride who will scarcely glance at them and who barely thanks the donors? It may be natural and fitting that the members of an aristocracy should offer nuptial gifts to the members of a royal house; but there is neither naturalness nor fitness in workmen and domestic servants robbing themselves to do so, or in "eighty actresses" buying a bauble for a future queen: imagine Molière's company purchasing jewels to give to the Dauphine of France! With royal houses lies principally the fault of this insensate fashion. They show that they expect these presents, and tacitly promise, if they are numerous enough, and costly enough, not to enquire too curiously into the sources whence their purchase-money has come. The enormous number of their progeny make them all effectively poor, and they turn into money what is given them as rapidly as they can. When the secret history of every court comes to be published it always is seen what a hotbed of intrigue, meanness, selfishness, jealousy, and base ambitions it was; a mere putrid mass covered over by a mantle of ermine and cloth of gold. Every court in the present days is the same, and will be seen to be the same when its private history shall in its turn be told. The divinity that doth hedge a king has been broken down and torn to pieces like a paper screen. Louis Quatorze on the terraces of Marly was a stately personage, meet emblem of the state; but a prince of our own immediate time in debt to money-lenders, the guest of enriched tradesmen, feverishly flitting from the race-course to the public meeting, from the punting table to the town-hall, from the shawl-dancing to the cathedral service, from the cotillon to the communion-table, has no dignity, no meaning, no symbolism of anything, except of the vapid, foolish, and unwholesome modern life he leads. Louis Quatorze might be no less wanting in reality, perhaps; but he was at least an actor who knew how to look his part, how to suggest that which he represented.

Manner and costume are matters which royal persons might influence worthily and naturally, and both are certainly in sore need of improvement. But they do nothing to influence or to improve either. The portraits of a dozen sovereigns and heirs-apparent, with their respective bicycles, as they appeared when in *villeggiatura* at Bernstorff, were recently published, and these dozen personages were as like a set of city-clerks as one bicycle-tire is like to another. Of costume for festal occasions princes have no conception except such costume as is represented by military or naval uniforms. Their imagination can go no farther than war. But for the military costumes

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the procession of the Jubilee would have had no beauty or color whatever.

The mere fact that persons, at court, of rank and breeding are willing to take the salary and the semblance of servants bespeaks at once the extent to which their self-respect is destroyed. I know at this moment a stately, gracious, and beautiful lady, well-born and well-bred, who is travelling with a princess's trousseau in her charge to a royal marriage; she is doing exactly what she would make her own maid do, yet, so warped is her mind by long custom at a court, that she sees no degradation in what she is doing, although in all other atmospheres save that of the court she is a proud and intangible person with whom none would dare take a liberty. There can be nothing but what is deleterious in such a self-abasement.

The approval of monarchs lends a wholly fictitious value, a wholly artificial renown, to that which it selects and eulogizes. Their taste may be execrable, their judgment may be distorted, their area of observation may be, indeed must be, exceedingly limited; but this does not prevent their selection and their eulogy from being of immense weight with a vast majority of the public who have the sheep's instinct of stupidly following the bell-wether's tinkling call. There is no instinct in modern life of any attempt at resistance by royal persons to conventional usage, to foolish formula, to tedious custom and ceremony; indeed their whole existence is bound up in the crystallization of these things. They are the creatures of artificiality. Remove them from their artificial state and they are nothing.

It is not divinity but conventionality that doth hedge a king. Princes are in themselves so entirely conventional, so wholly theatrical, that they cannot stir a step toward freedom without at once destroying their own *raison d'être*. Their interminable exactions are the great time-waster of their world. Measure the hours thrown away in deputations, audiences, receptions at railway stations, platform platitudes, public ceremonials, the laying of stones, the opening of institutions, the hearing of addresses, all the pompous and empty routine prescribed by, and for, them alone, and the immeasurable waste of time, dignity, money, and good sense,—and the injury done by them to society can be approximatively measured. They are the supreme windbag inflaters of the universe. When it is a moot question whether the mattoid should be permitted to reproduce his or her species at all, the number of George III.'s descendants alive at the present moment is calculated to startle the calmest student of history. A little while ago

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a young sovereign announced his intended visit to the monks of the Armenian Monastery on the little isle of San Lazzaro on the Lido waters; the quiet sanctuary was awakened to innocent excitement, the intellectual treasures of the library were brought forth, rich hangings and carpets were spread on the bare stones, and the venerable superior gathered with his sons on the edge of the landing steps to await the coming of the great man. They saw his gondola approach from the city over the lagoon, but as it neared the isle they saw it turned and set cityward again as rapidly receding across the silvery surface from their view. Only on the morrow did the offended patriarch learn the reason: his imperial majesty had changed his mind! It is said that the gentle recluses were hard to appease; but they must surely have remembered that the scientific term "mattoid" may sometimes be applied to monarchs as appropriately as to anarchists.

Nay, it perhaps speaks well for their good sense and self-restraint that sovereigns are not more often and more ungovernably mattoid. Given their consanguinity in marriage, their hereditary nervous maladies, their imprisonment in a narrow circle, their illimitable opportunity of self-indulgence, the monotony, the inquisitiveness, the publicity, which lie like curses on their lives, the maddening interference and investigation of their physicians,—we must give them honor that they remain as entirely sane as some of them do and retain tastes as natural and impulses as good as many of them show. They are moreover heavily and cruelly handicapped by the alliances which they are compelled to form, and the hereditary diseases which they are thus forced to receive and transmit. The fatal corporeal and mental injury of royal families due to what the raisers of horses call "breeding in and in" cannot be overrated, and yet seems scarcely to attract any attention from the nations over which they reign. The royal races of Europe are almost one race, and that German. They form one large clan, not by any means mutually attached yet with enough preponderant likeness to constitute a solidarity of family interest as against public liberty. Mental and physical diseases are common to them, and so also are certain attitudes moral and political. They are almost always great feeders, and tenacious of frivolous and arbitrary precedence and distinction. An English prince took aside at a ball an English ambassador known to me, with censure and consternation visible on his countenance. "Your riband should be worn *under*, not *over*, the collar of your coat," he remarked with ominous severity. "His Royal Highness of Tailor's Tape," Carlyle would call him were he

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living to hear this story. This same prince one day offered another ambassador of my acquaintance some Southdown mutton and Bass's ale: the offer was of course gratefully accepted, and the mutton and ale came with the prince's compliments,—*and the bill!*

No sovereign would dare to educate his sons otherwise than in the curricula of military science; no sovereign would venture to make his young children other than puppets and figure-heads shaped in the likeness of war. No matter how little their stamina or their appearance suit the rôle every prince must be a Lilliputian soldier, or sailor, and be made dedicate to Bellona. The most cruel and unnatural strain is put upon the undeveloped powers of childhood to harden it into a premature combatant. It is well known that sentry-duty in winter nights caused the death by consumption of the elder brother of the present Czar, and that the health of the late Crown Prince Rudolph of Hapsburg was prematurely injured by the nervous injury he suffered as a child from being repeatedly awakened out of his sleep at night by his military tutors to accustom him to surprise-duty. The youthful Hohenzollerns are now suffering in a similar manner. It is not possible that any serious diminution of the dangers of war, and of the enormous preparations for it, offensive and defensive, can ever take place so long as royal military families exist, for they exist by *war*, they adore it, they devote their peoples to it, and their offspring are reared in the midst of its pomp, its panoply, and its deification.

There are two little boys now conspicuous in Europe, one is eleven and the other eight years of age; one is a crown prince and the other a crowned king; the former is the most dreary and self-conscious little prig that ever was drilled in pipeclay and buckram, and the other is still a high-spirited child, bold, saucy, and lovable; but both the Prussian Kronprinz and the Spanish Rey Niño have already but one thought in their young heads: War. The pompous little German lieutenant only lives for dreams of strategy, manœuvres, *kriegspiel*, the importance of buttons, the dignity of stripes and grades, the superiority of gunpowders and chemicals: and the bright Niño climbs on Marshal Campos's knees and begs to be told how Moors were killed in Morocco, Cubans in Cuba, and how many years he will have still to wait before he too can have the joy of killing them. Divine education of Christian princes! These children are taken, respectively, to the Lutheran service, and to the Catholic mass; and they are alike told that they are the servants of the Son of Peace, and what are they in truth being made both by education and example? They are being

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made the scourge of their own generation, and of the generations to come. They are being taught to hope for, and to aspire to direct, the slaughter of their people and of neighboring peoples, to find their toys in military science, their theatre in the battle-field, their ambrosia in blood. The little lads of their own age who run now before their carriages in the dust, shouting their names with joyous outcry, will be for them a score of years hence crippled, maimed, riddled with shot, torn with explosive bullets, drowned by torpedoes, blown up by mines; thousands yet unborn will arise to curse them; mothers will ask their dead sons at their hands, and ask in vain; villages will burn like wisps of straw, and cities crumble like trodden ant-hills, at their word; they are innocent themselves as the atoms of tubing or the tin sardine boxes which hold the detonators and the iron nails of the bomb; but as these are filled with the deadliest fumes and fires of hell, so are these boys from their earliest infancy filled to the throat with the lust, the pride, the appetite of War.

To expect of a prince thus reared to abstain from war, when he reaches supreme power, is to expect a perfect marksman, whom you have supplied with the most exquisitely accurate repeating rifle, to abstain all his life from firing a shot. It is not in human nature to wield an immense power, and do nothing whatever with it. Such power may indeed be held in check by other power of which he is uncertain whether it, or his own, be the stronger: but it is thus, it is by this apprehension, this uneasiness, this impatience, that is created and sustained the terrible and exhausting uncertainty in which Europe has lived ever since the battle of Waterloo.

Certainly royalty is not the only factor of war since we see the republics go to war. But it is one of the greatest, nay, is as the world goes the very greatest, of its factors.

If the opening of this century had seen the United States of Europe in a federation such as would have charmed the dream of Girondists, it is possible that its present close would not see as it does see now the pitiable and alarming spectacle of all the nations of Europe armed to the teeth against each other, mined by anarchy at their social centres, and eaten through and through by taxation, speculation, corruption and abject fear; whilst the stock market falls if only a despot cough, and wealth, the god of the world, shakes on its clay feet if an imperial epileptic frown at his groom of the stole.

OUIDA.

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OUR SUB-ARID BELT.

In The Forum for June 1895 I discussed the present condition and probable future of the great arid region of the United States, which embraces all the western-central portion of the country, and extends from the Cascade Range and the Sierras on the west, eastward to the great plains which lie west of the Mississippi Valley proper. In this article I desire to speak of an extensive belt of prairie, where climate and soil appear inviting to agriculture, but where there is not a sufficient average rainfall for profitable tillage. This region has no natural boundaries. It merges insensibly into the distinctively arid country on the west and into the humid country on the east. It extends from the Saskatchewan Valley on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and may be said, roughly speaking, to have a breadth of about two hundred miles. It has no topographical distinction from the rest of the great plains, except, perhaps, that it is less level than the country to the east that receives more rainfall, and less broken than the country farther west that receives less rainfall. The soil is a brown loam and would be highly productive if nature would only furnish about a dozen more inches of annual precipitation. The region is traversed by great rivers, fed by melting snows in the distant Rocky Mountains or in the nearer Black Hills ranges; but streams of local origin are few and far apart and are nearly dry in summer. Perhaps the most characteristic of these local streams is the James River, in the two Dakotas, which has a course of more than five hundred miles, draining a larger area than the entire State of Ohio. It has hardly any perceptible current during the months of July, August, and September, and can be forded at almost any point. In the dry season it becomes little more than a series of water-holes. Indeed at one place in South Dakota a farmer sunk a well in the bed of the river last summer to get water for his stock. The James River is said to be the longest unnavigable river on the continent.

Much of the surface drainage of the sub-arid belt goes into ponds, which lose most of their water during the hot months by evaporation. The snowfall is much lighter than in the Mississippi Valley, and the

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mean annual precipitation ranges from fifteen to twenty inches, as against from thirty to thirty-six on the Mississippi River. If this amount of precipitation came mainly in the growing season the country would be well adapted for agriculture, but most of it must be credited to spring rains and melting snow. Light showers fall in June, but there are usually six or seven rainless weeks in July and August, and during this period there is always danger from hot winds that blow for two or three days, sucking the moisture out of the growing crops. In spite of the general diffusion of knowledge about climatology, many settlers on the great plains continue to blame the regions south of them as the birthplace of these dreaded winds. Thus the North Dakota people suppose that these winds start in South Dakota; the South Dakota people attribute them to Nebraska; the Nebraska people to Kansas, and the Kansas people to the Indian Territory,—all imagining that the identical volume of hot air which blights their crops has travelled many hundreds of miles. The truth is that the hot winds, while they may prevail over a very large extent of country on the same days, are always of local origin, and are caused by the rarefaction of the air on broad areas of uncultivated and sun-scorched plains. The rising of this heated air causes a partial vacuum, which is filled by the precipitation of currents from the higher regions of the atmospheric envelope of the earth, and these currents descend with such force as to engender heat by compression. Therefore, if all Kansas were a green corn-field, the hot winds would continue to blow in Nebraska so long as a very large part of the area of Nebraska is brown turf during the summer months.

A distinguished climatologist well-acquainted with all parts of the Far West, who was formerly at the head of one of the Government bureaux at Washington, proposed a few years ago that the belt of deficient rainfall, which lies east of the arid region, should be designated as the sub-humid belt. This proposition to avoid the use of the term arid was received with some favor at the time, but the new phrase has not come into popular use in any part of the district in question. I am disposed to think that it is wiser to adhere to the term sub-arid, because it calls attention to a condition which must be overcome if this large and fertile strip of prairie country is ever to be converted into the homes of a prosperous population. The natural conditions must be combated—either by drawing upon the store of subterranean water through artesian wells, or by methods of tillage which will retain the surface moisture in the soil of the growing crops—if the many

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millions of rich acres which now lie open and vacant are ever to be made into farms and peopled by a race of intelligent cultivators, like that which already occupies, with contiguous homesteads, the adjacent prairie of the eastern portions of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

During the flush times of the later 'seventies and the early 'eighties there was a great railway-building movement in the West and population poured out upon the vacant prairie lands, all the way from the Indian Territory up to Manitoba, following the advance of the locomotive. Ignorant of the climatic laws of the plains, farmers and town-builders pushed on into the sub-arid region, seeing nothing in its general appearance to make them think it differed in any important respect from the known agricultural regions a little farther east. If their first year's experience in this untried country raised doubts as to its sufficient humidity, they reassured themselves with the then current delusion that climate changed with settlement and that "rainfall follows the plow," and they cheerfully put in their crops the second and third years in the face of partial failures. It happened, moreover, that the first settlement of a large part of this belt of country was contemporaneous with two or three years of exceptional precipitation, so that the settlers who arrived in those years raised pretty fair crops of wheat and corn. In the dry years that followed they hopefully looked for a change and they assured the people who came in later that the condition of drought was exceptional, whereas the fact was that this condition is the rule of the region and the previous period of good rains was the exception. As time went on a large number of these settlers was compelled to abandon their claims and go elsewhere to make a living. Some drew back eastward into the districts of greater rainfall and others pushed on to the Pacific Coast,—where all sorts of climate can be found, from absolute aridity to a precipitation of sixty or seventy inches per year. Those who remained to keep on raising wheat or corn grew poorer year by year. Some of the more intelligent went into cattle and sheep husbandry and have made a fair success, with their live stock pastured on the wide ranges of vacant grassy land, and with a few small fields of grain and roots, the failure of which entails no very great loss. The towns in the sub-arid belt have shrivelled up steadily and most of them cannot to-day count half the population they had ten or fifteen years ago. Only the distinctively cattle towns, which do not depend at all upon agriculture, are prosperous. Everywhere abandoned farms are seen, with fields grown

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up to weeds, on which a heroic attempt was once made to raise profitable crops.

Lest I should be accused of drawing a more gloomy picture of the actual condition of the sub-arid region than the facts warrant, I will furnish a few statistics of population in some of the States through which this belt runs. In 1890 Kansas had 1,427,096 people. In 1895 the State census found only 1,334,668 within her borders. The counties in the eastern part of the State, which enjoy a sufficient rainfall for agriculture, exhibited gains, but in the western-central and western counties there was an absolute loss of about 200,000 people—a greater number than is contained in the entire State of North Dakota. In some localities population has almost entirely disappeared. In sixty-two villages there was a total loss during the past year alone of 15,827 inhabitants. All these 200,000 people were forced to leave the western part of Kansas because they could not make a living. They were not frozen out, but they were dried out by the arid climate. They went to Kansas with high hopes of being able to make permanent and prosperous homes for themselves upon her rich prairie soil and in her mild climate, but they failed to reckon with nature and to take account of the fact that it is impossible to farm safely with only fifteen or twenty inches of annual precipitation.

No State census was taken in Nebraska in 1895. The causes which produced the partial depopulation of the western part of Kansas were equally operative in western Nebraska, and if a census had been taken it would undoubtedly have shown a decline in the total number of inhabitants during the five years in question, in spite of a considerable gain in the eastern counties where the rainfall is fairly adequate for general agriculture. The State census of South Dakota for 1895 showed a total population of 330,975 against 328,808 in 1890, a gain of 2,167, which is far short of the natural rate of increase of a community of that size under the healthful conditions of farm life. The extreme western part of this State embraces the Black Hills mining region, which is prosperous and gaining steadily in population. Between this region and the region of sufficient rainfall in the eastern part of the State lies a belt of semi-aridity, similar in its general conditions to that which extends across Nebraska and Kansas, and in this belt there has been a noticeable decline of population. In North Dakota no census was taken in 1895, but the vote of that year showed some increase over that of 1890, warranting the conclusion that the loss of population in the central and western counties has been more

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than counterbalanced by the gain in the Red River Valley, which receives enough rainfall for prosperous agriculture.

There is now no fertile land, in regions of good rainfall, open for free homestead settlement anywhere in the West, except in the forest region of northern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota, and in the densely-timbered country west of the Cascade Mountains, in Oregon and Washington, where it costs about a hundred dollars an acre to clear the trees, stumps, and brush from the ground. The population of the United States is increasing at the rate of almost a million a year. The beginnings of a new western migratory movement are already discernible, and foreign immigration, greatly diminished during our recent period of business depression, is commencing to flow again in large volume to our shores. It is a notable fact that while Kansas lost nearly 100,000 people between the Federal census of 1890 and the State census of 1895, Minnesota gained 237,000 in the same period. The explanation is that Minnesota has no semi-arid lands. All of Minnesota lies within the humid region, while the western half of Kansas lies in the sub-arid region. The western half of Nebraska also belongs to this belt of insufficient moisture, and so do the western portions of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Manitoba, and all of the big Canadian Province of Assiniboia.

It already begins to be evident that this vast belt of fertile land, as wide as Ohio and in length reaching across the whole United States and a portion of Canada,—a belt already traversed by many railroads and occupied by a thin skirmish line of agricultural settlement,—will not be allowed to relapse into its former condition of a cattle range without another effort to subdue it for the uses of the farmer. In South Dakota a remarkable movement is in progress for irrigation by artesian wells. Nearly the whole of this State and of its northern neighbor is underlain with the water-bearing formation known to geologists as the Dakota sandstones, which forms a vast artesian basin, fed by the rivers that flow over and the rains that fall upon its western rim in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, the Big Horn Mountains, and the Black Hills. This formation has been fairly accurately traced already by government explorations and by the sinking of artesian wells here and there to afford a water-supply for towns, and the recent borings for irrigation wells confirm the earlier theories of the geologists. The water-bearing stratum is found at Yankton, in the extreme southern part of South Dakota, at a depth of six hundred feet. It is about a thousand feet below the surface in the central region of the State, and

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at Jamestown in North Dakota the well that furnishes fire-protection and local water-supply is down about fifteen hundred feet. The irrigation movement is at present confined to the lower James River Valley and the counties lying along the eastern side of the Missouri River, in South Dakota. A single statement will show how important this movement has become. There are now more than eleven hundred wells completed or in process of boring. In many cases townships have bonded themselves to carry on this work; in others, farmers have combined to buy machinery and sink wells for themselves. Financial projects are now being formulated by which wells will be sunk by stock companies and sold to farmers on annual payments, with security in the form of mortgages on the land to be watered. The subsoil in this artesian basin holds water so well that experience has shown that it is not necessary to irrigate a field every year. Once thoroughly soaked the land will produce good crops for two and perhaps three years without further irrigation. This is a very great advantage, for it doubles and trebles the irrigating value of a given amount of water. Of course the natural rainfall helps out the crops and lessens the duty of the irrigation system. Thus good crops can be raised in this region with perhaps one third or even less water than must be applied in more arid regions, such as Colorado, Utah, and Idaho, where little aid can be expected from rains and where the subsoil along the river margins is usually gravelly. The results of irrigation in South Dakota have been very favorable. Irrigated fields produced last year thirty-five bushels of wheat to the acre, while adjoining fields, which depended on rainfall, produced only twelve. It will be seen that with this enormous gain in the yield of crops, a well costing from two to three thousand dollars and watering an entire section of six hundred and forty acres will pay for itself in a single year.

It must not be concluded, however, that all of the sub-arid belt which lies above this water-bearing sandstone is destined to become a country of contiguous irrigated farms. There must be a limit to the number of wells that can be sunk in a single township without diminishing the flow. That limit has not yet been ascertained. The subterranean waters do not constitute a great reservoir. They percolate through the porous sandstone under hydrostatic pressure derived from the elevated position of their places of original absorption. Every well must relieve the pressure on a considerable surrounding area. If it should turn out, however, that there is water enough under ground to regularly irrigate, every other year, eighty acres in each section of six

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hundred and forty acres in this entire artesian basin, the region in question will soon become one of the most prosperous in the United States. The remaining land will be utilized for pasture, and the forage-crops and corn produced upon the irrigated fields will enable the farmers to raise fat cattle and hogs to great advantage.

Another interesting movement is in progress that promises great things for agriculture in the regions of scanty rainfall, and that will not be confined in its benefits to the artesian basin. A scientific farmer in South Dakota is zealously advocating a theory of special methods of soil-culture, which is attracting a great deal of interest and is being put to practical tests in various localities. His idea is to make better use of the moisture that falls in showers by storing it, so far as possible, just below the roots of the growing crops and preventing its too rapid evaporation. To this end he has invented a sort of cultivator that packs the ground a few inches below the surface so that a considerable amount of water will be held above the subsoil. Then, acting on the known fact that capillary attraction and consequent evaporation take place much more rapidly when the surface soil is firm and baked by the heat than when it is loose, he stirs up the surface by repeated working with another sort of cultivator. This second process is easy enough with corn- and root-crops but he proposes to employ it with wheat, sowing the grain in rows and tilling the fields by a machine specially designed for this purpose. He illustrates his theory of capillary attraction and evaporation in dense surface soil by showing how much more rapidly a fine-grained sponge will suck up water than will a coarse-grained one, and how much more rapidly it will give out water when the two sponges are saturated and placed on a board in the sun to dry. It would be premature to make any predictions as to the ultimate outcome of this theory of a special method of tillage adapted to regions of inadequate precipitation for successful farming by the old methods, but I refer to it here to show that American enterprise and ingenuity are at work on the problem of the general utilization for agriculture of the great sub-arid belt.

For the encouragement of artesian irrigation some facts might well be ascertained at Government expense. The Senators and members of Congress from the States through which the sub-arid belt extends should join in efforts to obtain an adequate appropriation for determining, first, whether there is an artesian flow under the western portions of Nebraska and Kansas; second, whether the known artesian basin of South Dakota extends northward through the entire breadth

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of North Dakota, as is probable from the success of a well recently put down in Manitoba; and third, the number of wells that can be sunk on a given area of territory without resulting in a serious diminution of the flow. The Government owns most of the land in the regions in question and might with entire propriety undertake a reasonable expenditure to demonstrate its agricultural value. The experimental wells sunk to test the amount and pressure of the subterranean flow should be put down in two or three different localities in the present known artesian basin. For a sufficient solution of the question it is probable that a dozen or twenty wells will be required in each locality where the experiments are conducted. This work should be under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. If it should turn out that a well can profitably be sunk on every alternate section of land, or on every third or fourth section, this will be a great gain in the way of practical information. Another valuable line of governmental work would be to test, at the various experimental stations in the States interested, the special methods of soil-culture advocated as a remedy for deficient rainfall. These stations are supported by appropriations made by Congress and could carry on such tests with very little, if any, addition to their ordinary expenses. If—by the aid of artesian wells and storage reservoirs, and by new and scientific methods of tillage whereby a larger part of the water that falls from the clouds can be utilized than is now possible under the old methods of agriculture—it should be demonstrated that a belt of prairie country having more than twice the area of Iowa can be changed from its present half-desolate condition into a flourishing farming region, the result will be of tremendous importance in its bearing upon the future development of the United States.

E. V. SMALLEY.

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THE TRUE AIM OF CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES.

A CHARITY Organization Society means a society for *organizing* charity; it means the attempt to put intelligence and order in the place of ignorance and chaos. The first society of the kind was established in London in 1869 by men and women who had spent their whole lives in working for the poor in London, and who, having given time and thought and life to the work, had become convinced that they were not doing any good, but on the contrary were doing harm. They found that they were working at cross-purposes; that those in one part of London were ignorant of what was being done in the other parts; and they came to the conclusion that what was needed was more intelligence, not more feeling and heart; that earnest workers who were trying to help those in distress should come together, compare notes, and help each other to accomplish their common purpose.

The example of London was followed by Buffalo in 1877, and later by Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and other cities, and there are now about one hundred and ten societies in the United States that work on this principle of associated charity. The idea has never been that a new society should be formed to do new work, but that the existing societies should unite to do their work better and accomplish their primary object—the helping of people in distress.

The cause of the great difference in the new way of doing the old work in London was that the men and women who established the Charity Organization Society believed that poverty could be cured; they believed, as a result of their lifelong study of it, that poverty was due to certain causes which were removable; and that has always been the fundamental distinction between the "old" and the "new" charity. The old charity accepted the idea that the distress of poverty and pauperism is necessary. The new charity rejects this idea; it says that poverty and distress are due to certain causes which usually have their roots in the character of the people who are in distress, and therefore its great aim is to influence the character of those whom they want to help. And if in England, where the struggle for

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existence is so much more severe than it is in the United States, men and women who had given their lives to charitable work were able to agree that the usual cause of poverty is to be found in some deficiency —moral, mental, or physical—in the person who suffers, it certainly can be accepted as still more generally true in this country. And this, which makes the daily work of charity discouraging, is, rightly looked at, an encouragement. If it could be said that there were in the United States numbers of honest, industrious, intelligent, and energetic people who were in a chronic state of distress and suffering, that would be a horrible situation; and yet it would be a situation which would make the helping of them easier and more encouraging than is the helping of the people that now have to be dealt with; for, since their distress is due to inherent faults, either physical, mental, or moral, it becomes very difficult to cure it.

But besides the weaknesses which make difficult the helping of people who want help, there are weaknesses of the would-be helpers which make it far more difficult. The development of character is not easy—it requires a great deal of intelligence, patience, and sympathy; and it requires, moreover, as a foundation, a correct conception not only of the people who need help at the moment, but of the whole population of the world in general. This may seem an extreme statement, but it is true. The theory that there are two classes of people, the rich and the poor, and that the rich support the poor by giving them work and money, is contrary to the truth; and those who hold that view are incapacitated from being of very much use to their fellow men.

The fact is that the population of the world is divided into two classes—two very important classes—but poverty and riches are not the distinction between them. The distinction is one of character and life. The workers and the idlers constitute the two classes into which human beings are divided. The workers are those who usefully serve their fellow men; and they are workers, whatever be their occupation, if this condition of useful service is complied with. They may spend all night mixing bread; they may lie for ten hours every day on their backs in the dark, hundreds of feet under ground, picking out coal; they may set type all night in a newspaper office; they may sew all day, or wait on table, or wash clothes, or cook, or run errands; they may plan railroads; they may superintend factories; they may write poems; they may sing, or act, or preach, or teach,—they are always workers, if what they do is of use to the world. The idlers are the people who live on the workers. They may be rich or they may be

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poor; and one peculiarity of the poor idler is, usually, absolute degeneration of character. It is a sad fact that a worker is easily converted into an idler, and it is this fact which makes the attempt to help unfortunate people so difficult a matter. The truth is that, looked at from a temporal and material point of view, the mass of the world's workers have a hard time of it. There is little room for enjoyment, often no room for self culture, for the common worker. He has to forego many of the pleasures, and some of what many people call the necessaries, of life; and often the uncommon worker, the captain of industry, or the genius in any department of work, has also "to toil terribly," as Sir Walter Raleigh puts it. To the uncommon worker, the genius whose high intelligence and noble nature enable him to see the real value of things, "to live laborious days" is not a hardship, and he cannot be tempted by the offer of any of the lower pleasures to give up what is in reality the highest function of his nature. But, alas! the common mass of men and women are not made of such stuff. They seem to need the pressure of necessity to force them to exercise their faculties.

And in the different meanings of this word "necessity" to different people is to be found, in a great degree, the cause of the great differences in their condition. I am ignoring, of course, the pressure of the unjust social laws and legislative enactments which produce hardship and cause more people to become idlers than would otherwise be the case. But, while acknowledging this unfortunate effect of unjust conditions, I still believe that one principal cause of the great differences in the material comfort of different classes of persons lies in their "standard of living," or, in other words, in their view of what are the necessaries of life. The ex-slave of some of the West India islands,—where there is much common land, where the climate makes clothing unnecessary, and where one bread-tree will furnish sufficient food for a family,—has so far lowered his standard that he desires nothing; and so he plants his bread-tree, makes his hut, and will not work for himself or any one else, having all the necessaries of *his* life without working. Nor does the pauper work in those other countries where clothes are required, and food ready to eat does not grow on trees which can be had for the planting, but where food, clothing, and shelter can be got from the public without any unpleasant accompaniments; for, although he wants more than the black man, still he can get all he wants without work. And going higher up the social ladder and coming to the man who wants a good house, good clothes, and good food, but who gets all these from his father, we find that he does not work for exactly

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the same reason that keeps the black man and the pauper from working. He gets all he wants without working. Such being the tendency of human beings not to work when they can get what are to them necessaries without it, a high standard of living is one of the most important factors in raising the condition of the people. And one of the great dangers to be guarded against in this country is the lowering of the standard of living by the influx of foreigners. This also points to the most important service that can be done for these foreigners,—which is to raise their standard of living until they will not live in filthy tenement houses, or allow their children to go without education for the sake of the pittance they can earn, or work for wages upon which it is impossible to live decently and bring up a family to be healthy, intelligent, and self-respecting members of the community.

Now, by this long and rather roundabout road I have come back to the various things which Charity Organization Societies attempt to do for the people who are unfortunate and who need help. The object is to make them workers and not idlers, and to educate them to a higher standard of living if they happen to have a low one. But, in order to come to any decision as to the kind of help which any person or family will require, it is necessary first to learn to know each of them—to find out whether each individual is a worker or an idler, to know the character, history, and general tendency of each; and this cannot be done except by really sympathetic study. It is impossible, when they are in misfortune, to find out the truth by a few questions. The desire to help them, and to help them in the best way, must be sincere, and they must believe that it is. Then, having learned about them, it is always necessary to remember how easy it is to tempt the average human being to become an idler. In the case of a family where the misfortune is of a temporary nature, where want of work has brought want of bread, it does not do to take the course that seems so easy and natural and so right at first sight. It does not do to send groceries, coal, and clothes, recklessly pouring out before those tempted people what to them represents the results of two or three hard days' work, and giving them perhaps the first lesson in the terrible truth that it is very easy to get a living without work,—and this just when they are suffering from the torturing difficulty of getting work to make a living. Instead of this, it is necessary to try in every way to devise some means by which what is needed may be worked for by some one in the family, by the husband or father, if it is in any way possible. Of course, sometimes there may be absolute destitution, requiring immediate relief,

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though this is rare in any community; and even where this is so it is possible, by supplying what is needed for one day, to gain time to think over some plan by which the head of the family can provide, as he ought to, for the next day, the next week, and for all the weeks thereafter.

There are many men and women who are suffering because they are confirmed idlers, and who are idlers partly because they can do no work well enough to secure decent wages for it, and partly because they have no energy and no ambition—that is, they suffer from radical deficiencies, both of character and education, which act and react upon each other, each evil only aggravating the other. Such people as these are the most difficult and disheartening to help, for there seems no foundation to build upon. But, if there are children, it does not do to turn away discouraged; it does not do to take the easy course and supply with gifts of money and necessaries all the deficiencies left by their want of character and skill, for this is to educate the children in exactly the same way that the parents have been educated, to rely on other people,—to be, in a word, paupers. Such families as these will furnish hard work for years to any one who is sufficiently courageous and unselfish to undertake their care. Of course, the objective point is the proper education of the children,—to make them feel the responsibilities that their parents never felt; to teach them the skill that their parents never learned; to give them the character their parents never had;—a long, hard task, requiring courage, devotion, and the realizing sense that every little bit of improvement which may be put into the souls of those children is just so much gain to them for eternity.

There are dangers that beset the work of a Charity Organization Society, as there are in all other fields of human effort; and one is the making a fetich of investigation. Investigation of this kind is not a good thing in itself; it is an evil. It is not desirable to try to learn all the facts about other human beings, if they do not want to tell them; the only excuse for investigation is to learn the way to help them. Investigation is and must be one of the corner-stones of all the work of scientific charity, but the tendency to look upon it as a thing to be carried on almost for its own sake should be resisted. It is an invasion of privacy which ought not to be undertaken except with the object of helping people; that is its reason and justification. If a person comes asking help, and continues to ask it after it has been explained that he cannot be helped unless inquiry is made into his antecedents and present condition, he puts himself into the hands of the Society to be investigated, and he must be investigated, because he cannot he helped

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without that knowledge. What a person needs cannot be known without finding out what he is; for how otherwise can one help him, give him what he needs, or keep from him what he ought not to have? The thing to be constantly kept in mind is, that investigation is not an end in itself nor a good thing in itself, but that it is the means to a good end, which is the helping of persons in distress.

Still another danger is that of taking "short views,"—of thinking only of the people in distress; it is necessary to think also of the effect of what is done upon other people. Sometimes, helping the individual may be objectionable because it will injure other people. For instance, it is said that one reason of the very low wages of working women in Paris, which makes it impossible for any woman to earn a living there by needlework, is the work that is done in institutions for poor women and sold at low rates—that is, those good people who have charge of institutions for poor women are so possessed with a desire to maintain their institutions and to teach the few women they have in them, that they injure thousands of working women for the sake of the few hundreds they have directly under their eyes; and this lowering of wages is one of the most disastrous effects of any extended relief system.

Another mistake is made in taking a negative position; in telling people not to give carelessly and selfishly, instead of telling them that they must give carefully and thoughtfully; in constantly saying *don't*, instead of *do*. The Societies thereby expose themselves to the charge of telling people that they must not help the poor, when their one object is to help the poor and make other people help them.

The Charity Organization Societies fail also to explain another important matter. It is often difficult to understand how careless giving actually increases physical suffering and distress, and how it may, and often actually does, make people poorer. But it does so by undermining the independence, self-reliance, and energy of persons whose only capital consists in those invaluable qualities. It takes from them their only source of income and support, and does not give them enough to make up for it. If any one were to say, "I will pick out a certain family, and I will give them a hundred dollars a month for the rest of their natural lives"—that would not hurt them any more than a hundred dollars coming from any other source. Such income often prevents people from working for their living; but it also often leaves them free to do something that is better worth their while. The trouble with indiscriminate and careless giving is that it prevents people from making the exertion necessary for their own support, while

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it does not give them enough to live on—only enough to starve on; and by and by gets tired of giving them even that. If a man makes eight dollars a week, and four are given him and he stops making the eight,—as he is almost sure to do,—he is certainly very much poorer and suffers a great deal more than while he made the eight; and in the nature of things he is soon left without either.

The aim of a Charity Organization Society should be to get people to do far more in every way for those in distress than they have ever thought of doing. It should teach them that people ought to give more time, thought, and money than they are in the habit of giving. To take only one example, the case of a widow with young children. A working man dies and leaves a little money, and his widow tries to get along with it and succeeds for a little while; then it is gone, and she and the children are dependent. What is the usual course of things? People give her a little money here, a little money there, and she spends almost all her time running around for the money until she gets to be a regular beggar, and the children beg and the whole family go to destruction. People have given them money because, as they truly say, it was such a pitiful case. What ought to have been done? First, all the relations should have been made to give something regularly; then what the woman could have earned, without neglecting her children, should have been taken into consideration; and then somebody should have given her enough to make up the rest of her support in a decent way, so that the children would not have been left to starve and freeze or have been forced to beg. But there are very few people who are willing to give one woman ten dollars a month for ten years, diminishing it, of course, as the children grow older, and watching over them all that time. That is the way, however, in which dependent widows and children should be taken care of. It is a question of letting them become beggars, or of watching over them and giving them enough to make sure that the children are brought up properly; the watching being more important and more difficult than the relief.

Every different case of distress can be dealt with in the same spirit, but it is not necessary to go into details. The principles of the Charity Organization Societies can be summed up in two texts: "Man shall not live by bread alone,"—which applies to the poor as much as to the rich; and "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

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THE ISOLATION OF MUSIC.

In looking back over the history of music as a factor in modern culture one cannot avoid noticing at many points its apparent separateness from other factors. Instances can often be found where musicians have deliberately emphasized this isolation, making their art an esoteric mystery, to be fully made known only in the secret circles of the initiated. Wherever any line of human effort is elaborately followed as a technical specialty, as it must be by those who achieve the greatest progress in it, the tendency to an isolating conception of it is inevitable. The extremely rapid development of music in the last two centuries is due to the large amount of this specialistic pursuit of it, and the whole popular notion of music has naturally been much affected by this fact.

In saying this it is not forgotten that music constantly shows an intrinsic readiness to escape from academic and other arbitrary isolations. Its primitive forms seem to be all of a diffuse and popular kind. It is found to have flourished in all periods and countries. It has been warmly loved by millions of men, and has been passionately followed as a profession by thousands, representing the most diverse classes of society. It has now, after some strange vicissitudes, pushed its way into a remarkable prominence in what is called cultivated society. In spite of these facts, however, it has been common for musicians and others either to set music wholly apart from other agencies of culture, or so to minimize its influence that it may be disregarded in any serious and important summary. This disdain of music as a historic fact and a persistent social force is too often merely a part of a sweeping disdain of every artistic factor in culture. The fine arts originate in the play-instinct of man. They are bound to develop somewhat in directions of trivial amusement, of idle luxury, and even of positive folly. They are often most showy where the moral values of life and the higher energies of society are least regarded or most perverted. Consequently it has sometimes been assumed that the most petty aspects of all the arts are the most characteristic, and that their nobler developments are too exceptional to be counted. Art has not seldom been considered only a surface decoration of life, wholly incidental and accidental to its

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real substance. Music, of all the fine arts, has perhaps been the most subjected to this sort of depreciation.

One of the most conspicuous exhibitions of this tendency to isolate and thus to lower the value of artistic things is in theories of general education. It is said that the most influential English theory of education until within a few years has been that of John Locke. Now Locke well represents those for whom artistic discipline lies for ever apart from all vital training of man's powers, if not subversive of it. Locke says somewhere that if a boy has "a poetic vein," his parents "should labor to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be." "I know not what reason," he continues, "a father can wish to have his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business." "Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on." The theory of the essential uselessness of art in education here exemplified has been and still is widely diffused in all English thought. The consequence has been that whole systems of popular culture have been organized with fine art of every description absolutely ignored. Generations of educated men have been trained with one side of their natures quite forgotten. What wonder is there that to such men music, with its peculiarities as an art, stands in absolute isolation from other topics of human interest!

Practical musicians of to-day, especially if engaged in educational effort, inevitably feel the force of whatever notions of the isolation of music the theories of the past have engendered. Take the case of a high-minded church musician, for example. Church music has notable differences from concert music. Both are also distinguishable from household music, and from solitary or reflexive music. The initial motive to all music is æsthetic gratification, and in most of its public developments there must remain a large emphasis on the appeal to the senses and to the instinctive tastes, absolutely without conscious moral purpose or any measurable correlation with the profounder aspects of life. In the cultivation of most music, therefore, the apparent values are simply æsthetic. All others are at least so masked that their working may vary much with different percipients. That such music should become highly specialistic and so isolated is not strange. But church music is different from other music in that it is a deliberate application of an artistic means to ends outside itself, and to ends, too, that obviously belong to the highest moral and spiritual category.

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Church music aspires to deal, as an interpreter and teacher, with the eternal verities of religion, to offer a language for the utterances of worship, and thus in its own peculiar way to lay a directing and animating hand on the immortal soul. Every earnest church musician must base his work on some such daring conception as this of its aims and potencies.

But every church musician has learned by bitter experience that this kind of conception is not the popular one. For himself, he may claim that a weighty and profound Scriptural passage is made many times more luminous to the spiritual sense by an apt musical setting and rendering, so that a great anthem or a true oratorio should be ranked as a tremendously powerful agency of religious impression and uplift. But how often the merely concertizing theory of music cuts ruthlessly into his hope and dream, so that what he has wrought upon in eager reverence and with a kind of prophetic ecstasy, like that of the mediæval cathedral builders, he sees taken and handled in the same frivolous and wanton spirit that has from time to time defaced and destroyed too many of the precious sanctuaries of Christendom.

For himself, the church musician may claim that there is such a thing as worship in and through music, as vital and as soaring as ever rose to heaven in the flame of sacrifice, the smoke of incense, or the rhapsody of liturgic prayer. He may urge that when prayer takes to itself the pinions of music and becomes praise, the blended unity of words and tones is more complete and true as an expression of the human soul in the presence of God than any material or merely verbal symbol can be. Yet, as he watches those whom he is trying as a leader to lift into the highest levels of worship, how rarely does he feel the popular heart responding in evident sympathy with his heart! He mounts up as on wings of eagles, but too often cleaves the upper air alone.

Or the church musician may content himself with believing that music, like every artistic influence, may at least work as an indefinite emotional quickener, unlocking the gates of the inmost heart, and ministering through the avenue of æsthetic delight and zest to a somewhat intangible growth in the warmth of soul-life, so that other influences may then seize upon the spirit and put it in touch with the divine realities. He may simply seek to make an emotional atmosphere in which religious experience may bud and blossom without really knowing why or how or to what end. And yet here, too, how much of his most loving labor is wasted, misunderstood, misapplied! He has ap-

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pealed to the love of beauty that her sisters, the love of truth and the love of righteousness, may spontaneously awake. But he sadly finds that in the popular mind there is either a dull insensibility to beauty or a wide chasm between æsthetic and other mental activities, so that at the best he has ministered merely to a selfish and worldly craving for excitement.

These disappointments, or something like them, are the inevitable lot of most church musicians who labor with a deep philosophic sense of the mission of their art. They befall all other classes of musical workers—all artists, indeed, in every field. Sometimes they so crowd upon the thought as to give rise to the despairing belief that in this practical age, with its feverish material ambitions and its exaggerated estimate of merely scientific attainment, there is no room for art and the empire of feeling to which it belongs. What wonder that the musician, like many another artist, sometimes lapses into the pessimistic notion that he dwells apart, in a different world from the generality of men, isolated and alone!

But, happily, the reaction from these extreme views of art, musical art included, is beginning to become appreciable. The estrangement of music from other topics of popular interest is surely diminishing. Not only is the striking technical progress of music itself during the present century correcting erroneous conceptions and multiplying the number of those who have an independent personal acquaintance with it, but there is also a vigorous general reaction of thought which is steadily benefiting the status of music in common with all its sister arts. We are surely coming out of the utilitarian narrowness of the older time. One who watches the drift of our more serious literature can hardly fail to be impressed with the growing readiness to concede the importance of all the parts of man's complex nature, instead of arbitrarily exalting some into domination over the rest. And, consequently, there is in progress to-day a notable re-discovery of the sensibility as intermediate between the intellect and the will. This is producing a new attention to the fine arts as among the most brilliant fruits of knowledge and the most potent fashioners of conduct and character.

I shall here confine myself to some notes upon the influence of this reaction upon the traditional isolation of music. And for simplicity I shall also limit myself to a single field, one in which the trend of the reaction is most easily observed, and in which it is being most effectively urged onward. I wish simply to point out a few of the ways in

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which the isolation of music may be and should be removed through processes of general education.

American musicians have for a long time been struggling for a universal recognition of singing as a necessary topic of regular instruction in the public schools, beginning, of course, in the cities and large towns. The claim is that this is only fair to the subject and to the pupils. The schools have begun to see that popular education means more than languages, mathematics, physical science and history. The moment they admit that literary and æsthetic culture is needed to make full-rounded men and women, and that some acquaintance with the processes and products of the fine arts, literature included, is needed to prepare their pupils to enter understandingly into the life of the world, they must admit music on some sort of parity with other arts. Most of the arguments for modeling, drawing, painting, yes, for essay-writing, might be urged also for singing. The gain in this direction has so far been principally in the lower grades, in the kindergarten, the primary school, and the grammar school. The high schools are less cordial. Some of the colleges as yet show almost an antipathy to music, except as a detached specialty. Several of them, it is true, especially those for women or for both sexes, have flourishing music schools affiliated with them or incorporated in their system, where much high-class technical work is done. But these advantages are chiefly confined to such pupils as have exceptional musical aptitude or, at least, an ambition to plume themselves with some showy, polite accomplishments. The connection of music with the general culture that is aimed at by the prescribed studies of the regular curriculum is avowedly slight. Finally, in institutions of a university grade there are a few instances of elaborate musical courses leading to academic degrees. These courses exert a wholesome influence in that they give a scholarly standing to musical study, and often splendidly equip those who follow them. But the number of students that enter them is relatively small, and naturally includes hardly any but those who intend to make music a profession. The distinction between such university courses and the best of the purely technical or specialistic music schools is slight.

This state of affairs has both a hopeful and a discouraging side. It must be admitted that there has been a great gain in recent years in the amount of our public instruction in music. There has been a steady and manifest improvement in the methods, the scope, and the purpose of such teaching. The *personnel* of the musical profession is

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far finer than it was even a generation ago. In consequence, through a variety of channels, of which public music teaching is certainly one of the most important, the significance and dignity of music as an object of effort have been decidedly advanced in popular estimation. Not only is it fashionable to become an instrumental or vocal performer, but the quiet diffusion of musical information through public instruction and through the increasing body of competent amateurs tends constantly to raise the average musical standard of our larger communities. Choral societies are slowly multiplying and plainly advancing in capacity. Concerts and recitals are becoming more frequent and better. Our church music is certainly improving at every point. The lift in the amount of popular enthusiasm about music is, on the whole, encouraging and promising.

But, on the other hand, one may venture to wonder whether this gain is all of the best sort, or, rather, whether it is coming to bear where it is most needed. How much consistent and determined effort is there to articulate musical study with *general* culture? If a boy or girl shows musical talent, the special cultivation of it is encouraged. If a fair number of people in a community can be induced to find enjoyment in such concerts as can be arranged, the taste for such enjoyment is fostered and fed in whatever ways are found to be pecuniarily feasible. But the training which results both of individuals and of the music-loving public tends to be over-special, too detached from other topics of public interest, uncorrelated or isolated. It is apt too often to make mere performers and mere critics of performance. Technique is the one goal of too many students, and brilliance of execution the one demand of too many listeners and patrons. While the stimulus is great for those of decided musical talent, those who show no special aptitude, and those who have no ambition of becoming technical experts, are overlooked and unprovided for. The keenness of audiences for a telling or *bravura* performance increases, but combined with it is too little discrimination as to the essential value of the works chosen for rendering. We get more and better technical musicians of a certain kind, but the average popular acquaintance with the immense literature of music is curiously limited, and the average sensitiveness to the inner meaning of musical works is curiously dull. In a word, something of the isolation of music which in the past came from its cultivation in an over-specialistic way is being perpetuated.

This is not to be taken as implying anything against the strictly

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specialistic training of those who are to give their lives to music as a profession. The purely technical opportunities now open to the musical aspirant are surely a source of pride and strength. Without them the art of music would presently begin to stagnate and then to deteriorate. Without them we should have no masters and leaders, no authorities, no freshness of creation, no sustained enthusiasm for the culminating triumphs of musical art. Nothing here is meant to detract from the importance of these vital processes whereby the professional organism of music is nourished and continually rejuvenated.

But how about the unprofessional side of the matter, the musical culture of the huge masses of people who will never be musicians in any technical sense, the creation of a popular sentiment about music that shall securely link it with the abiding interests of intellectual and spiritual life? It seems to me that musicians owe it to their art continually to revert to this question of the popularization of music, not simply because of a philanthropic interest in the musically ignorant and defective, but in justice to their own theory of the universal and glorious quality of music itself. Those who live in a musical atmosphere claim to derive therefrom something that makes them larger, higher, better men and women. They feel that this experience is due, not so much to an abnormal or entirely exceptional capacity in them that is non-existent in men generally, as to the enjoyment of special advantages and the development into full activity of powers that are at least potentially present in all men. In support of their view they often point rather proudly to the cosmopolitan character of modern music, with its growing independence of national and other boundaries, or solace themselves with some golden tribute to music's universal power from the great poets. Yet, if musicians cannot demonstrate in practice that music has a real, tangible value to all cultivated people as an integral part of their culture, and that therefore it should be a constituent of general education from bottom to top, having close inter-relations with other topics of such education, and supported by the same reasonable logic—if they cannot do this, then they are at least pursuing a phantom, if not sailing under false colors. Either music has the capacity and the right to be far more of a wide-working social force, or she is not worthy of the prodigious outlay of wealth and energy that is being lavished upon her.

If there be any cogency in these considerations, they bring us face to face with the necessity of suggesting something to be desired and sought. In yielding to this necessity, I offer a few thoughts along but

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one or two lines, though I fully realize that there is much more that may be said and perhaps needs to be said.

First of all let me urge that a larger emphasis should be thrown upon general education as a prerequisite for the popular exercise of musicianship. There are too many cases in which gifted enthusiasts push their way into prominence in the profession with so little breadth of information, so little discipline of all the mental faculties, so slight a sympathetic sense of the myriad interests and forces in our complex modern life, that they are really unable to see the problem here considered, much less to do anything effectively for its solution. Our age is one of specialism, it is true; but it is also an age of the close interaction and precise co-ordination of specialties. To pursue a specialty successfully is highly honorable, provided that the specialist knows where he is in the universe of thought. Greatness may consist largely in being a master in some one field; but greatness in helpless or ignorant isolation is at least half wasted, if not in danger of being half perverted. I cannot believe that in music, any more than in any other vocation, it is safe to expect the best success without genuine and enthusiastic comprehensiveness of contact with the actual life of humanity, such as is possible only for one whose education has been elaborate and well-rounded. This is a necessity for musicianship pure and simple; but it is incontestably a necessity for the delivery of music from its isolation as a popular power. Happily the signs of advance in this regard multiply on every hand.

Second, I would plead for the closer association of musical study with other forms of study. Whether or not it is practicable as yet to make music in its higher grades an actual constituent of the curricula of all schools, colleges, and universities may be doubted. But we may be eager to see every possible musical course put into close relation with other courses in all sorts of educational institutions. Musicians, indeed, may wish that every such introduction of music might be beyond criticism as to technical method. Yet, even where the work done is relatively feeble and fragmentary, the mere recognition of music as a topic of study in fellowship with other topics merits hearty support. Poorness of method may be left to rectify itself. It may be that the traditional methods of musical teachers need the stimulus of comparison with methods in other departments. The main thing is to secure a foothold for musical art in every accessible educational system, from the kindergarten to the university. It would surely be well, also, if our leading music schools were all in close

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proximity to institutions of recognized scholastic standing. Proximity provokes comparison, if not affiliation. The spirit of one school reacts helpfully on that of its neighbors. Interchange of students, of instructors, and of books and other apparatus is facilitated. Education in the large sense means learning, dexterity in its use, power in independent mental action, and the development of a healthy personality. In any one institution the balance may be imperfectly struck. The close contact of different institutions tends to correct onesidedness in all. Music schools have sometimes ignored learning, strict scholarship, and real character-building. Other schools have too often ignored all æsthetic subjects, and have underrated the sensitiveness of feeling and the dexterity of action that is indispensable in art. Both classes may be benefited in ways too numerous to specify by being set side by side. In all these regards, too, the signs of advance are encouraging.

Third, I would especially plead for a closer study by musicians and by educators generally of the natural analogies between music and literature as branches of popular culture. I here refer not simply to the affinities that draw poetry and music together, though these finely illustrate my point. But I mean that in solving the problem of fully bringing music into its place in general education, the essential likeness of it to literature should be accepted and adopted as a principle of action. "Literature," as the term must be used by a professional educator, includes not only works but workings, both expressive and impressive. The great function of literature in the world, I assume, is the clear, adequate, and forcible intercommunication of personalities through the medium of language, and its importance as a field of education follows from the fact that no other form of intercommunication is so full, so infinitely varied, and so universally powerful. The point here urged is that, since the analogy between literature and music is far closer and more complete than is usually perceived, the educational treatment of the two should be deliberately similar. Upon this, one of the most pregnant of themes, there is space for but a few rapid and scattered suggestions.

Literature has for its vehicle speech. Music's vehicle is tone. The two combine in song. How close to each other are the processes of speaking and singing is best known to technical students of the two as fine arts. The experience of vocal teachers constantly reinforces the belief that the highest results in both directions depend on the frank recognition of their common ground in the use of the voice as an instrument of personal expression. A sound discipline of the literary sense,

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and of the musical sense as well, depends primarily on a thorough vocal training of every student of either. The schools are fairly ready to acknowledge the value of reading aloud as a basis for literary interpretation and for literary composition. Hand in hand with this ought to go a parallel use of singing as a basis for musical interpretation and musical composition. These propositions are not merely theoretical; they have been nobly demonstrated by the most progressive teachers. But the demonstrations have thus far been mostly confined to the lower grades of study. They need to be carried up into the higher grades also. One of the most famous of our teachers of English literature, Prof. Hiram Corson, has recently said that the inward experience of the greatest masterpieces of our literature is absolutely impossible without the constant use by both teacher and pupil of actual vocal interpretation. His view is shared by an increasing number of his fellow-instructors. It may be questioned whether in the musical field we shall make the best progress until singing is restored to its full place as the paramount and normative musical process for every student.

But this is only one side of the subject. In literary study it is clearly seen that breadth and accuracy of culture depend chiefly, not on the mere minute preparation of single extracts for elocutionary delivery, but on the intelligent analysis of and the sympathetic familiarity with large numbers of works by many masters, on many subjects, in many styles, and appealing to many susceptibilities. "Reading," said Lord Bacon, "maketh a full man"—meaning copious private reading for information and scope. Is it not the same with music? Technique—literary or musical—is a means, not an end. It is a necessary servant of culture, but a sorry object of worship. May we not hope that the time will come when all music teachers shall see that the goal of their work is not the preparation of isolated pieces for performance, but the cultivation in every student of the power to know for himself at first hand many works, by all sorts of composers, in every known form, even including hundreds that never are and never can be prepared for perfect performance? And the power to read music readily and copiously should be made to lead to an insatiable desire to go on doing so till something of the whole range of musical literature is gone over. To be a somewhat striking performer may co-exist with an altogether petty and paltry musicianship, just as many an elocutionist and actor is only a literary tyro or poltroon.

The same principle applies to concert-hearing. No one would be called a true lover of literature who merely busied himself with hear-

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ing a series of declamations of a few well-known pieces, simply applauding each succeeding conquest of their hackneyed technical difficulties. Yet how many concert-goers pride themselves on a love for music when they are simply seeking the excitement of witnessing successive acrobatic feats with the fingers or the larynx. How many otherwise cultivated people have to be laboriously taught as if they were mere children to hear with reverence all the great musical works of the past, and to welcome with eagerness those of the present. Concert-going always involves the insidious danger that a lower impulse shall be mistaken for a higher, that the mere sensuous craving for a transient gratification shall be confounded with the real thirst for permanent musical culture. Happily, this danger is always being opposed by the better class of performers, to whom interpretation is as sacred and noble an art as composition, and in whose hands the creations of the past are being continually made new.

One more working out of this analogy between literature and music may be suggested. The ablest teachers of literature know that their highest mission is not to teach prose or poetry in and for themselves, as mere objective products, but to show how in these products humanity has expressed itself, how the author's personality is declared, how the author represents a period, a class, or a tendency of human development, and how in the utterance universal thoughts and sentiments are embodied and universal sensibilities touched. It is the proud boast of literature that to study it in any proper way is to study and to know *man* in the fullest sense. I cannot but believe that music and musical education will remain somewhat isolated and fruitless until a precisely analogous ambition becomes thoroughly operative there. Musicians may devote themselves to the mechanism of composition or performance, may range eagerly over the whole field of musical works and styles, may become even learned in formal analysis and technical criticism, and yet these achievements will be but small unless through all this their pupils are steadily gaining in a vital, hearty, spiritual sympathy with composers and performers as representative men, and through them with the essential life of mankind.

These analogies between music and literature might be much extended and profusely illustrated. But this need not be done here. It only remains to say that the responsibility for working out the problems here suggested seems to rest mainly with musicians themselves. The limitations and perversions of their art in popular estimation and handling are familiar to them. So far as these remove it from contact

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with human interests and efforts generally, or dissociate it from other artistic and literary fields to which it is strictly analogous, the resulting isolation demands closest study and most determined efforts at reform. While it is true that much is due to music and to musicians from the outside world which has not yet been cordially and universally granted, it is also true that justice from others cannot rightfully be expected so long as those who profess and call themselves musicians are not ready to render it themselves to their own magnificent art. If music deserves to become less isolated than she has been in common thought and especially in education, musicians must be foremost in believing it and in proclaiming and exemplifying their belief. Music will be to the world what musicians make it. It may for a time be something less; but it never can be more.

The hope of the matter, therefore, lies in the earnest efforts within the profession in various ways so fully and justly to set forth what music really is, and so logically and conscientiously to keep it in its due relations with its sister arts, and especially with literature, that the recognition which the earnest world is ever ready to give to whatever is true may more and more deliver music as an art, musicians as artists, and the glorious literature of tone-poems and tone-dramas which music has been for centuries producing and reproducing, from the sad and false isolation in which they have too often been placed in social life, in education, and in historic and philosophic criticism.

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